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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Grinevskiy Notes Pact Proposals on Combat Aircraft *[TASS]* 1
NATO Proposals on Conventional Arms Noted *[PRAVDA 24 Sep]* 1
Baker, Scowcroft Cited on Arms Talks Progress *[IZVESTIYA 26 Sep]* 1
Karpov Gives Briefing on Chemical, Strategic Arms *[TASS]* 2
Canberra Forum Ends, Produces Important 'Dialogue' *[IZVESTIYA 23 Sep]* 2
Nazarkin Cites Prospects for Nuclear Arms Talks *[Moscow Radio]* 3
Chernyshev Notes Importance of Arms Talks *[TASS]* 3
Reader Poses Question on Disarmament, Arms Cuts *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Sep]* 4
Military Inspectors Complete Work in France *[TASS]* 5
Pentagon Book on Soviet Arms Control Unchanged *[TASS]* 6

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Levin Discusses Shevardnadze's UN Speech *[Moscow Radio]* 7
Western Cooperation With Perestroyka Urged *[Kuznetsov in SELSKAYA ZHIZN 23 Sep]* 7
East-West Leadership Relations Improving *[Moscow International]* 9
Helsinki Hosts Seminar on CEMA Problems *[TASS]* 9
Banned Books Displayed at International Fair *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 20 Sep]* 10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Yazov To Visit United States in Early October *[Moscow Radio]* 11
Bush's Remarks on Strategic, Chemical Arms Noted *[TASS]* 11
Bush Cited on Wishing Perestroyka 'Success' *[TASS]* 11
Expert Says Recent Talks 'Surpassed Expectations' *[TASS]* 11
'New Realism' in U.S.-Soviet Relations Welcomed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 Sep]* 12
Georgian Party Leader Receives USIA's Gelb *[ZARYA VOSTOKA 9 Sep]* 13
U.S.-Israeli War Materials Agreement Noted *[TASS]* 13
Science Magazine To Be Published in U.S. *[TASS]* 14

China

PRC Workers Union Delegation Visits USSR *[Moscow International]* 14
New Khabarovsk-Harbin Air Route Inaugurated *[Moscow International]* 14

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze, Nakayama Discuss Gorbachev Visit *[TASS]* 14
Yakovlev, DPRK Party Member Discuss Cooperation *[PRAVDA 23 Sep]* 15
U.S. Admiral on Military Commitment to S. Korea *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Sep]* 15

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodian Armed Forces Now Capable of Defense *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Sep]* 15
Commentator Examines SRV Pullout From Cambodia *[(Shetlov) on Moscow International]* 16

Near East & South Asia

Efforts To Settle Lebanese Crisis Described *[Balebanov on TASS]* 16
'Arafat Interviewed on Peace Process *[Moscow TV]* 17

Afghan Rebel's Threat Seen Aimed at Soviet Union *[PRAVDA 24 Sep]* 20
Parliamentarians Leave for Morocco, Algeria *[TASS]* 20
Andreyev Comments on Iran's Economic Relations *[Moscow International]* 21
Commentary Notes Support for Sri Lanka Cease-Fire *[(Menikov) on Moscow International]* 21

Sub-Saharan Africa

Military Chiefs Receive Ugandan Army Commissar *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Sep]* 22
Burkina Faso Party Delegation Visits *[PRAVDA 22 Sep]* 22
Ethiopian, Somali Conflicts Detailed *[Moscow International]* 22
Commentary Views Ethiopian Peace Talks *[Moscow International]* 23

East Europe

Slovene Assembly Debate on Constitution Noted *[TASS]* 23
Decisions of LCY Plenum on Slovenia Reported *[TASS]* 24
Further Reportage on Vlasov's Visit to SFRY 24
Visits Enterprises in Novi-Sad *[TASS]* 24
Talks With Serbia's Milosevic *[PRAVDA 26 Sep]* 25
Chaos in Poland Said 'Not in PZPR's Interests' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 23 Sep]* 26
Soviet, CSSR Leaders View Economic Coordination *[PRAVDA 22 Sep]* 28
Zaykov Receives Bulgarian Party Delegation *[Moscow Radio]* 28

West Europe

Shevardnadze Meets With Norwegian Counterpart *[TASS]* 28
Nishanov, Delegation Meet Rome's Spadolini *[TASS]* 28
Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Italy *[IZVESTIYA 28 Sep]* 29
Belousov Receives Visiting West German Official *[TASS]* 29
FRG Defense Official Comments on USSR Visit *[TASS]* 29
Debate on German Reunification Issue Analyzed *[Moscow TV]* 29
More Steps Toward Diplomatic Ties With Vatican *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 22 Sep]* 30
Greek Participation in Mars-94 Project Noted *[TASS]* 31

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze Confers With Venezuelan President *[TASS]* 31

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet Session

Supreme Soviet Committees, Commissions Meet 27 Sep 32
Work of Committees, Commissions Viewed *[Moscow Radio]* 32
Agricultural Issues Debated *[Moscow TV]* 32
Sitoryan Discusses Subsistence Wages *[Moscow TV]* 33
Vienna Accords Discussed *[TASS]* 33
News Briefing Notes Human Rights Progress *[TASS]* 34
Religious Freedom Bill on Agenda *[AFP]* 34
Draft Law on Self-Government Discussed *[TASS]* 35
Gosplan Official on Developing 1990 Plan *[Moscow Radio]* 35
Consumer Goods Output To Be Focus *[TASS]* 36
Grishchenko on 1990 Plan, Budget *[TASS]* 36
Pavlov's 25 Sep Report on State Budget Published *[IZVESTIYA 27 Sep]* 37
Supreme Soviet Decree Rescinds Brezhnev Award *[TASS]* 49
Committee Approves Draft Law on Press *[IZVESTIYA 21 Sep]* 49

Political & Social

Shcherbitskiy Steps Down as Ukraine Party Head *[Moscow Radio]* 50
Ivashko To Replace Shcherbitskiy *[TASS]* 51
Ivashko Profiled *[TASS]* 51
Gorbachev Arrives in Kiev; Met by Shcherbitskiy *[Moscow Radio]* 51

Voronin Meets With Donbass Miners *[TASS]* 52
Ukrainian Public Comments on People's Movement *[Moscow TV]* 52
Deputies' Groups Debate Ukrainian Election Law *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 26 Aug]* 53
Gorbachev Addresses Award Winners 27 Sep *[Moscow TV]* 55
New Central Committee Secretaries Interviewed 55
Yuriy Manayenkov *[PRAVDA 23 Sep]* 55
Yegor Stroyev *[PRAVDA 24 Sep]* 56
PRAVDA on Plenum, Upcoming Congress *[26 Sep]* 57
Supreme Soviet To Publish New Magazine *[TASS]* 59
Continued Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Blockade 59
Troops Unload Cargo *[TASS]* 59
Cargo Arriving Via Air *[Moscow Radio]* 60
Warning Issued on 'Attacks' on Garrisons *[Yerevan KOMMUNIST 8 Sep]* 60
Armenian Parliament Hits Blockade *[IZVESTIYA 25 Sep]* 61
Judge Calls for Government Action *[Yerevan Radio]* 61
Correspondent Terms Blockade 'Barbaric' *[Moscow Radio]* 62
Lvov Rounds Up Situation in Southern Republics *[TASS]* 63
NKAO National Council Goals Viewed *[Yerevan International]* 63
Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Condemns NKAO Congress *[IZVESTIYA 25 Sep]* 64
AZERINFORM Protests 'Distorted' TASS Reporting *[BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 10 Sep]* 64
Armenian Refugee Situation Detailed *[Yerevan Radio]* 65
NKAO Komsomol Obkom Elects New Head *[Yerevan KOMMUNIST 26 Aug]* 66
Informals Linked With Novosibirsk Crime *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 12 Sep]* 66
Moldavian Workers Said 'Tired of Strikes' *[TRUD 23 Sep]* 67
Moldavian Strikers Urged To Return to Work *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA 10 Sep]* 67
Distrust of Moldavian Language Law Analyzed *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 11 Sep]* 69
Lithuanian Supreme Soviet To Investigate 1939 Pact *[Vilnius Radio]* 70
Vilnius Communists Express Unease at Events *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 10 Sep]* 71
Young Warned on Antidraft Leaflet Campaign *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 31 Aug]* 73
Estonia Popular Front Wants National Referenda *[HOMELAND 13 Sep]* 74
Protocol With Estonian Strike Committees Outlined *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 12 Sep]* 74
Zaykov Addresses Cost-Accounting Meeting *[TASS]* 75
Daily To Feature Material About KGB *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 14 Sep]* 75
Leaders Confer on 'Baltic Market' Proposal *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 13 Sep]* 76
Belorussian Presidium Backs CPSU Party Stance *[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA 9 Sep]* 76
Tatar Obkom Replaces First Secretary Usmanov *[TASS]* 77
More on Lipetsk, Tatar Obkom Elections *[PRAVDA 24 Sep]* 77
Uzbek Republic Appoints New Ministers *[PRAVDA VOSTOKA 19 Sep]* 77
Kazakh Language Law Said Different From Others *[PRAVDA 23 Sep]* 77
Kazakh Deputies Confer Before Supreme Soviet *[KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 14 Sep]* 78
Kazakh Plenum Makes Personnel Changes *[KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 13 Sep]* 78

Economic

Abalkin Details Program for Economic Recovery *[IZVESTIYA 23 Sep]* 79
Three 'Free Economic Zones' To Be Implemented *[IZVESTIYA 20 Sep]* 85
People's Deputy Urges Miners Not To Strike *[Moscow Radio]* 86
Private Trading by 'Tourists' Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 28 Aug]* 86
Export Licenses Introduced for Some Commodities *[IZVESTIYA 21 Sep]* 88

Agricultural

Nikitin Cites New Commission, Agricultural Update *[Moscow TV]* 88

Scientific

More Satellite Launchings Announced 90
'Intercosmos-24' Launched 28 Sep *[Moscow Radio]* 90
Molniya, Cosmos Satellites Launched 27 Sep *[TASS]* 90
Program Highlights Satellite Communications *[Moscow TV]* 90
'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Experiments *[TASS]* 91

Grinevskiy Notes Pact Proposals on Combat Aircraft

LD2809123589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Vienna, 28 Sep (TASS)—At a routine plenary meeting of the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, held today in the Viennese Hofburg Palace, the GDR delegation put forward new proposals on behalf of the Warsaw Pact states on limiting frontline (tactical) combat aircraft and combat helicopters. The socialist countries are now proposing to include in the subject matter of the talks all frontline aircraft, and establishing a limit on them of 4,700 units for each of the alliances. Air defense aircraft are not included in this level, since they do not possess the ability to inflict strikes on ground targets and are not part of the potential for a sudden attack.

So far as combat helicopters are concerned, the Warsaw Pact is agreed that the maximum limit for them should be 1,900 units for each of the alliances. Thus, the positions of the partners in the talks now coincide on this matter.

The proposals, which were submitted today, said Oleg Grinevskiy, ambassador at large and the head of the Soviet delegation, at the news conference here, prove that the Warsaw Pact gave due consideration to the NATO agreement to start reducing military aircraft and helicopters, contained in their proposals of 13 June this year. This was an important step to meet the position of the Warsaw Pact. Our latest proposals represent a constructive answer to our partners in the talks, he stressed.

NATO Proposals on Conventional Arms Noted

PM2709134989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent I. Melnikov: "NATO Proposals on the Negotiating Table"]

[Text] Vienna, 23 Sep—The NATO states' extra proposals at the talks on conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe, which had been given advance publicity, took 2 weeks to arrive. Relating to exchange of information, verification, and stabilization measures, they were delayed, apparently, because of different approaches on the part of a number of Western participants. So it was that Canadian delegation head D. Peel, addressing a plenary session in the Hofburg Palace, read out the agreed document.

In the corridors of the Hofburg, and among journalists, there is lively discussion of the proposals that have been placed on the negotiating table. One hears mention of the description of the document by FRG delegation head R. Hartmann: "It is the most detailed verification system ever devised for conventional armaments."

Baker, Scowcroft Cited on Arms Talks Progress

PM2709132589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS reports under the general heading: "Positive Assessment of Talks in Wyoming"]

[Text] Washington, 25 Sep—U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker has delivered a speech on the CBS TV program "Face the Nation" in which he assessed his talks in Wyoming with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze.

"We have emerged from a 15-year deadlock in the talks on nuclear tests," the head of U.S. diplomacy pointed out. "This is a major and very significant achievement. The same applies to chemical weapons." According to him, both sides made "truly fundamental progress on strategic offensive arms." "I believe that what you can now see is a manifestation of political will on the part of both the USSR and U.S. leadership to make progress in our extensive agenda in the field of arms control," he stressed.

The secretary of state indicated that the Soviet Union's express readiness to reach an agreement on strategic offensive arms, even if an accord on the problem of ABM defense is not secured before the elaboration of the former agreement is completed, constitutes a "positive turn of events." "This could enable us to make more rapid progress on the question of a strategic offensive arms treaty," he said. However, Baker stressed that there are still many problems at the strategic offensive arms talks, in particular with regard to air- and sea-launched cruise missiles.

Stating that the U.S. Administration is still committed to the aim of concluding an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, the secretary of state said: "We want to secure a strategic offensive arms treaty, and we said this when the incumbent administration came to office. But we do not want a bad agreement that will not be ratified."

At the same time the secretary of state's speech carried claims that the military threat from the USSR has not lessened and that the Soviet Union still has the edge in strategic arms.

New York, 25 Sep—The United States "is interested in the speediest advance" toward the conclusion of a strategic offensive arms treaty with the Soviet Union, B. Scowcroft, the U.S. president's assistant for national security affairs, said, speaking on NBC's "Meet the Press" program. He indicated that the dates for the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting have been determined so that an agreement on reductions in strategic offensive arms will have been reached by the time it begins, or at least substantial progress will have been made in that direction.

Scowcroft stressed that "the absence of mutual attempts by one side to shift the blame for the state of affairs onto the other was striking" at the talks between Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker in Wyoming. "Instead of this, attention was concentrated on the problems that divide us and the

proposals made by one side—or both sides—on ways to resolve these major issues," he pointed out. "One of the most reassuring aspects of these talks was the atmosphere of the discussions."

Karpov Gives Briefing on Chemical, Strategic Arms

LD2709105989 Moscow TASS in English 1011 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 27 TASS—The USSR expects the forthcoming superpower summit, scheduled for late spring-early summer 1990, to pave the way for the elaboration of a treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov told a news briefing here.

Most questions at the briefing concerned proposals on the prohibition of chemical weapons and the elimination of their stockpiles.

"We believe that the start of Soviet-American cooperation in the field of eliminating chemical weapon stockpiles—even before the entry into force of a corresponding convention—will be a good example for other nations that are now discussing the would-be convention in Geneva," Karpov said.

Comparing the Soviet and American proposals on chemical weapons, he said that the Soviet proposal was "broader."

Commenting on one of the components of the U.S. proposal on chemical weapons, Karpov observed that the United States intends to stop moves towards eliminating these weapons should any one country capable, in the opinion of the U.S., of producing chemical weapons refuse to join the convention.

"We would not like the stance of one country with a probable capability to produce chemical weapons to block the elaboration of a convention and its entry into force," Karpov said.

Canberra Forum Ends, Produces Important 'Dialogue'

PM2809100989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Mikheyev: "Dialogue of Partners, Not Opponents; International Conference of Representatives of Governments and Industry Against Chemical Weapons Has Ended in Canberra"]

[Text] Canberra—Conceived not only as a forum for seeking agreement between the interested sides but also as a free market of information and fresh ideas, the conference was marked by two events which merit the description "specific contribution" to the cause of the speediest banning and destruction of chemical weapons.

First, at virtually the same time the U.S. and USSR delegations used their political weight to support the proposal to create groups of experts with a more than hearsay acquaintance with the features of the chemical industry with a view to including professionals in the process of chemical disarmament. R. Clark, the head of the U.S. delegates, who holds the post of U.S. deputy secretary of state, sees in these groups a temporary coordination organ which resolves technical problems and questions of monitoring until the implementation of an agreement on the destruction of chemical weapons.

In turn, Soviet delegation member G. Leonov, who represents the interests of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Processing Industry, is talking of creating at the Geneva talks "assistance groups" consisting of specialists who know the scientific and production side of the convention on banning chemical weapons under discussion in Geneva. The ministry is prepared to establish contacts with firms seeking to promote procedures for the verification of the fulfillment of the convention and developments of technical means, methods, and techniques of monitoring the observance of the agreement in industry.

Second, the envoys from the world's chemical industry unanimously approved the joint statement which the participants called almost with one voice "historic." Those who voted "for" include chemical giants like Monsanto, Hoechst, Bayer, Dupont, Imperial Chemical Industries, Japanese firms, and so forth. In total they produce 95 percent of all chemical output in the world.

The declaration denounces the unseemly use of industrial products to manufacture chemical weapons and speaks of the readiness to cooperate with governments with a view to accelerating the signing of a convention on the total prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and then to take part at national level in the implementation of this agreement. The industrialists stated solemnly that the aim of the effort is a worldwide, all-embracing agreement subject to effective verification providing for the destruction of existing arsenals and production capacities and the future prevention of the creation of chemical weapons.

As a gesture of good will, the association of U.S. chemical producers, which unites approximately 175 firms producing 90 percent of all output, adopted voluntary measures of self monitoring of export operations. The prime task is to prevent the export of strategic ingredients which could be subsequently converted into a type of chemical weapon. Information on the USSR's position was presented the same day at a press conference to journalists covering the forum.

In January 1986 our state introduced strict rules for monitoring the export of a number of chemical products and expanded the list later in July this year. One demand on the purchaser has become a written guarantee that the output will not be used to produce chemicals for military purposes.

The delegates were also acquainted with the initiative of the USSR Parliamentary Group which is offering to collaborate with legislators in providing legal backup for the convention, creating national monitoring organs, preparing the agreement for ratification, and so forth. The

Soviet parliamentarians intend to invite foreign colleagues to take part in a specialized seminar on these subjects.

Another invitation came from F. Chesky, Austrian ambassador to Australia [name and position as published], who cited the experience of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the specialized UN Department for monitoring the use of atomic power for peaceful purposes and in particular the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Austria suggests that the future international organization designed to monitor the observance of the convention should choose Vienna as its headquarters.

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent asked representatives of the two main sides gathered in Canberra—the governments taking part in the Geneva talks and industry—for their final comments and assessments of what has been achieved at this forum.

"The chemical industry previously perceived the course of the talks on the convention with some apprehension since it depends directly on scientific research developments and the improvement of chemical production technology. There were fears that the convention would place under stringent control what we regard as our intellectual property," said Fridrikh-Vilgelm Pokhlents [name as transliterated], member of the council of directors of the West German firm Bayer. "Here we have reached mutual understanding: We are prepared to make our contribution—our professional knowledge of the subject—to the conclusion of a convention."

"The Geneva talks elaborated a special protocol which largely considers the specific features of the chemical industry where the question of safeguarding confidential information is being examined. But it is better when the optimum solution has been found in conjunction with representatives of industry, which will make it possible to establish a sensible balance between its interests and the demands of effective verification," N.P. Smidovich, head of the Soviet delegation, summed up the results of the conference.

"If you were to highlight the main result of the Canberra forum...."

"...It is the actual fact of dialogue raised to a qualitatively new level. In Geneva several Western countries asserted that the convention with its strict monitoring procedures did not please the chemical industry. A clear reply was given here in Canberra: The representatives of industry also want the speediest conclusion of a convention. Thus," N.P. Smidovich concluded, "we have witnessed not confrontation between governments and industry but dialogue between partners."

Nazarkin Cites Prospects for Nuclear Arms Talks

LD2709193189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] The 12th round of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons begins tomorrow in Geneva. On the eve of the talks, in an interview with our correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev, Comrade Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks, said:

[Begin recording] [Nazarkin] This round is beginning immediately after the meeting of USSR Foreign Affairs Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze with U.S. State Secretary Baker. This meeting, I would say, was very successful. The two sides' positions drew noticeably closer together. That was expressed, in the first place, by the fact that the U.S. side, on the whole, had a positive attitude to our new approach to solving the problem of antimissile defense and space, although they have not yet given a definitive answer on all aspects of that new approach. They have promised to do that here at the talks in Geneva.

The two sides also grew closer together on the question of mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles. Here the U.S. side has gone half-way and has withdrawn its proposal on the complete ban of such mobile means. It has expressed agreement with our approach which provides for the setting of limits—not a complete ban—on the mobile ICBMs. Well, I think that is the most important thing from among the practical results on those qustions which were discussed. However, apart from that, our side has put forward a whole series of major proposals on resolving the problem of air-launched cruise missiles and sea-launched cruise missiles. We are expecting an American answer to these proposals here at the talks in Geneva.

[Dmitriyev] Can it be affirmed that now, at the present stage, new, favorable conditions have arisen for the duration of these talks?

[Nazarkin] Yes, absolutely. The situation is turning out much more favorably than it was before that meeting of the foreign affairs minister in Wyoming. [end recording]

Chernyshev Notes Importance of Arms Talks

LD2709144989 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to a transition from individual measures of confidence-building, openness and glasnost in international affairs to a global policy of transparency which would become an integral part of comprehensive security and international peace.

This idea, stressed by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in his latest U.N. address, is among the most striking signs of new political thinking, indicating that the USSR has shed many of the deep-rooted stereotypes which were commonplace before Soviet perestroyka.

It is especially important that this idea is not just a political slogan. It is being embodied in the Soviet Union's practical activities on the international scene, as graphically demonstrated by proposals made by the USSR at the Soviet-American meeting in Wyoming and voiced by Shevardnadze at the United Nations.

The Soviet Union welcomed U.S. President George Bush's idea of open skies. But it also went even further, calling for opening up the lands, waters and outer space as well as the skies.

The USSR is convinced that the desired level of mutual trust can only be achieved by asserting glasnost and openness and building a wide-ranging infrastructure of pervasive verification.

If we do need to deter each other, let the deterrence be transparent and verifiable. This stand is another sign of the new Soviet approach to the military-political situation in the world.

Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker signed a number of documents aiming to promote openness and spread confidence-building measures to the military field.

They included an agreement on the advance notification of large- scale exercises of strategic forces, an agreement for working out measures of verification and stability in the field of strategic weapons, and a memorandum on chemical weapons, providing for exchanges of data on their stockpiles and for visits to and inspections of related facilities.

The Soviet and U.S. delegations also hammered out a protocol on verification to the 1976 treaty of peaceful underground nuclear blasts and agreed to include certain verification methods as well as on-site inspection in a protocol to the 1972 threshold test ban treaty. The sides agreed to continue work on provisions to ensure effective verification arrangements to monitor restrictions on mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The mere enumeration of these results indicates how fruitful the conceptual change in our approach to openness and verification has proved for strengthening and broadening cooperation in the field of disarmament.

The Soviet Union has taken many unilateral steps towards transparency. In particular, it publishes its defence budget and figures concerning its Armed Forces and Warsaw Treaty forces in Europe and provided details about the structure of its Armed Forces and armaments in the Asian part of the country.

At the talks on conventional armed forces, it is suggesting exchanges of information about the numerical strength, structure and whereabouts of forces and armaments throughout Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural mountains, intrusive verification, including on-site inspections, and stabilising measures that would allow registering any significant troop movements and concentrations.

The USSR is for increasing verification and openness as the disarmament process involves further countries, and believes that international forms of verification will be required.

In this connection, it has proposed specific organisations to do these jobs, including an international monitoring and verification agency and a multilateral verification centre.

Openness and verification are adversaries of mistrust, fear and the arms race. Increased mutual efforts by countries to promote openness and verification bring us closer to a safe and stable world.

Reader Poses Question on Disarmament, Arms Cuts

PM2709154389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by international observer Manki Ponomarev in response to reader's letter: "Movement Must Be Bilateral"]

[Text] V. Nikiforov, a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reader from the city of Iskitim, Novosibirsk Oblast, has sent the editorial office a letter which touches on a variety of issues. In particular, he poses the following question:

"Our approach to disarmament is very worrying. Cuts in armed forces and armaments are important. But they must be carried out on a reciprocal basis with the opposing side. But for some reason this reciprocity is not evident. They pay tribute to us and we are happy to make the effort—to the detriment of our own security. Or am I ill-informed, and is the West also taking steps in this sphere? I doubt it somehow."

Judging by your letter, Comrade Nikiforov, what bothers you is not so much the actual reduction of Soviet Armed Forces—you yourself call it an important process—as the fact that it is taking place unilaterally and, in your opinion, is not accompanied by corresponding measures on the part of the Western countries. Indeed, the United States and the other states in the NATO bloc have so far balked at taking major steps like those of the Soviet Union. It was not they, but we who took it upon ourselves to reduce the numerical strength of our Armed Forces by 500,000 men over the 1989-1990 period.

Why did we do it? There are many reasons and they have been cited many times in the press. I will mention just a few of them: The marked reduction of international tension and easing of the threat of war; the renunciation in Soviet military building of the principle of superarmament and the switch to the principle of defense sufficiency; the need to find extra resources to solve paramount and, as we all know, very acute economic and social tasks.

But the Soviet leadership had another motive, in addition to those mentioned above. The increasingly urgent need to reduce the numerical strength of armies, eliminate surplus armaments, and reduce the proportion of military expenditure in budget appropriations is felt throughout the world. But someone had to start, take the first step, set an example. So the Soviet Union embarked on this noble mission.

The USSR's decision was the result of profound deliberation and careful judgment. We are unilaterally reducing our Armed Forces, armaments, and defense expenditure by an amount that will make everyone aware of our goodwill, but will not be detrimental to our defense capability. We are willing to effect even larger reductions. It is to this end that talks are currently taking place in Vienna among the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states. The talks are complex and difficult—after all, they cover the armed forces and conventional armaments of both military-political groupings throughout Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. But their participants—on this occasion, NATO as well as the Warsaw Pact—are displaying goodwill and have put forward proposals which give rise to the expectation that substantial, concrete results will be achieved in the relatively near future.

The Soviet Union is also seeking progress at the talks with the United States on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments—the most formidable and most dangerous. Mutual reduction, moreover—in order not to upset the existing parity in this sphere, which is, if one can put it that way, a security guarantee. Although things have come to a standstill at these talks recently—and through no fault of ours. But in the end both sides, in fact the whole of mankind, want an accord to be reached. So here, too, one can expect progress toward an agreement.

But here is the question, Comrade Nikiforov, which worries not only you but many other readers: Did our example prompt a response, and has even one Western country embarked on the armed forces and armaments reduction path signposted by us? It would be wrong, of course, to state categorically that this has occurred. But the Soviet example has played a positive role, and we have every right to believe that its influence will grow even more. Let us look at the facts.

As is known, the FRG has the biggest NATO land army. The West German armed forces—the Bundeswehr—number nearly 500,000. So the country's public is making increasingly pressing demands for a reduction of its numerical strength and for a military expenditure cut. Similar calls are becoming increasingly audible in the Bundeswehr itself. Admiral E. Schmeling, head of the West German Army Studies and Exercises Office, proposed reducing the armed forces by more than one-half—by 300,000 men—over the next 10 years. In the admiral's opinion, the remaining 200,000 would be quite sufficient, since he no longer sees any danger of a surprise attack from the East.

E. Schmeling's view is not yet the position of the FRG leadership. But the fact that it has been published and has met with broad support is worth noting. As are France's intentions to reduce its military budget by Fr45 billion over 4 years, and the decision Belgium is already carrying out to eliminate a number of military units and abandon some types of weapons.

This is all the more important when you remember that until recently the Western countries at the Vienna talks have refused to discuss reductions in the numerical strength of forces. Now things have started to move. The United States has accepted the idea of a reduction of its own and Soviet forces on the territory of other European states. But the forces of its allies also stationed outside national borders have been left out of the equation. Yet, according to NATO criteria, their numbers are equivalent to 10 divisions.

I also want to refer to the debate that has been launched in the U.S. press on the topic: "How big an army does the United States need?" Various views have been expressed, even highly radical ones. The magazine FORTUNE suggests reducing Pentagon expenditure by one-third by the year 2000.

Of course, one cannot yet talk about the practical reduction of the military budget or the numerical strength of U.S. armed forces. The administration is hostile to ideas along these lines. One can only say that U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney was barking out an order when he said recently: "Now is definitely not the time for the United Strates to change the strategy it has been conducting so successfully in recent years," that is, the "position of strength" strategy, the strategy of trying to secure military superiority over the USSR. It was followed by another barked order from the NATO headquarters. M. Woerner, secretary general of the bloc, in an interview for the Austrian magazine WOCHENPRESSE, slammed those who, in his view, are not bothered about preventing a "military vacuum."

But no matter what Cheney, Woerner, and the like may say, the reduction of armed forces and armaments have indeed become the command of the times, and all sensible people in the world are becoming keenly aware of this. It is perfectly clear that, although the Soviet Union has taken the first steps in this direction, disarmament cannot be a one-way street. It must be and can only be two-way. Otherwise strategic stability would be undermined and security would not only not be strengthened but would, in fact, be weakened. And if that is indeed the gist of your question, Comrade Nikiforov, you are certainly right to voice your doubts.

Military Inspectors Complete Work in France

LD2509090889 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—A team of Soviet military inspectors today completed checking a declared site in French territory where previously announced military exercises of the French Armed Forces are now under way.

The inspection was carried out in keeping with corresponding provisions of the Stockholm conference document on trust-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe.

Pentagon Book on Soviet Arms Control Unchanged

LD2809100989 Moscow TASS in English 0939 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Washington September 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

The Pentagon's latest "Soviet Military Power" pamphlet—the eighth overall, but the first under the Bush administration and the new U.S. military command—doesn't differ much in substance from the earlier propaganda in the same series.

The spectacular shifts in the Soviet-American relationship since the previous booklet appeared and signs of progress in arms control could not passed unnoticed, by even the authors of "Soviet Military Power". The latest pamphlet, for example, replaces last year's subtitle "An Assessment of the Threat" with "Prospects for Change".

Even though it is couched in a comparatively restrained language, the booklet basically differs little from its predecessors. It portrays the United States as the main deterrent against war and questions, directly or indirectly, major Soviet arms control initiatives and unilateral steps to reduce armed forces and armaments.

The preface by U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney states, inter alia:

"General Secretary Gorbachev has taken far-reaching initiatives in domestic, foreign, and military policy that mark a significant change in the Soviet Union's strategy and tactics for achieving its national goals.

"While the United States encourages the evolution of the Soviet Union toward a more open society, a Soviet Union demonstrably dedicated to democratic principles, we cannot react unilaterally to Soviet initiatives that are not yet implemented or to proposals which, if implemented, can easily be reversed."

Cheney further claimed that despite the dramatic changes occurring in the Soviet Union and the Soviet leadership's declaration of benign intentions toward the Western democracies, Soviet military capabilities continue to constitue a major threat to our security". This is why it is important to maintain "our successful alliance strategy and collective security efforts, which are based on a strong military deterrent".

The pamphlet clearly betrays U.S. concern about the exceptional popularity in Western Europe by the Soviet policy of seeking arms cuts, the "Common European Home" concept and Moscow's comfortable lead in the number and scope of constructive proposals for reducing the risk of an outbreak of war and scaling down military confrontation.

The pamphlet, for example, refers to the "Common European Home" idea invariably as a favourite Kremlin ploy. It morosely warns that the Soviets are exploiting the momentum generated by the signing of the INF Treaty in order to secure further arms control measures in Western Europe, while their announced withdrawal of 500 tactical nuclear warheads from Europe is allegedly designed to play on differences inside NATO.

While the pamphlet could not simply disregard the numerous Soviet unilateral moves to reduce armed forces and promote the conversion of defence industries to civilian production, as well as proposals at START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) Talks, any mention of these moves and proposals is accompanied by reservations, introduced by words such as "but", "at the same time" and "despite this". In effect, they completely emasculate the meaning of the Soviet actions.

When comparing the military potentials of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the pamphlet relies on NATO data which substantially exaggerates Warsaw Treaty strength.

When comparing the Soviet and U.S. space infrastructures, it groundlessly claims that the U.S. military-space structure and infrastructure have been developed with peacetime orientations, while the Soviet space systems, quick launch capability and robust rocket production potential are geared toward military uses.

These assertions utterly ignore U.S. officials's admissions that the American space programme has now been completely farmed out to the Pentagon and the U.S. "Star Wars" effort. They also ignore admissions by leading U.S. scientists that the Soviet Union has left the United States far behind in peaceful space exploration.

While acknowledging roughly equal numbers of strategic weapons, the pamphlet alleges that the make-up and ground deployment of Soviet ballistic missiles provide the USSR with more warheads for attack on a day-to-day basis.

Like the previous editions, the latest pamphlet abounds in photographs, charts and other colourful illustrations designed to confirm the conclusions of its authors. And once again, it has appeared just as the budget battle in Congress entered the decisive phase.

The Pentagon, worried that legislators may slash its request for appropriations in view of the colossal federal budget deficit, relies on tried-and-test tricks to make its case. Paradoxical as it may sound, its new [words indistinct].

The pamphlet ends with these words: "The success of the Soviet reform effort, depending on how it develops, may also prove hazardous to Western security...(as) the West could face a far more formidable Soviet threat than it does today."

Levin Discusses Shevardnadze's UN Speech

LD2709235989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Interview with commentator Viktor Levin by presenter Ptashnikov]

[Text] [Ptashnikov] Today, when you acquaint yourself with reports by the foreign information agencies, particularly from New York, you involuntarily come to the conclusion that the speech made by USSR Foreign Minister Comrade Shevardnadze at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly still provokes very great interest and lively commentaries. Your attention is drawn to the fact that many General Assembly delegates note a positive reaction by the Soviet Union to the proposals by U.S. President Bush concerning chemical weapons. Why does this aspect draw such wide attention? I address this question to my colleague, commentator Viktor Levin.

[Levin] I think that to obtain a full answer it is useful to recall the relatively recent past. It used to be that we would introduce a new proposal on some acute problem, say medium-range missiles, that were called SS-20's in the West. We say that if the West does not deploy its medium-range missiles, we won't increase the number of our missiles already in position. We were answered at once: But in this case your missiles will stay and we won't have an adequate answer to them. We had a counterargument to these statements as well. It was enough to mention British or French nuclear weapons and U.S. nuclear-armed aircraft. But the task, it would seem, consisted not of outarguing the other side, but of finding a way out of the blind alley. Today, recalling the past, I am under the impression that neither the West nor we wanted this. Everyone tried to outdo and outwit one another, and as a result the flywheel of the military preparations spun ever faster.

[Ptashnikov] Yes, but today the situation is entirely different. In the first place, we should point out that the political atmosphere has changed.

[Levin] Of course, just recall the criticism to which the Bush administration was subjected for dragging on the pause in talks with the Soviet Union on the problems of arms limitation. Moreover, this criticism was voiced, I would say, not so much from our side as from United States allies.

[Ptashnikov] I think, and I don't know whether you agree with me, but in my opinion, two factors have made themselves felt. They are expressed in the very title of the speech by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly: The Fate of Peace is Inseperable From the Fate of Our Perestroyka. This is understood by very many statesmen and political figures in the West. Margaret Thatcher, the British prime minister, was in particular speaking about this in Moscow. Today, the opinion that the success of perestroyka is a guarantee of stable peace is strengthening.

[Levin] In the United States I think this truth is carving its way with difficulty, though judging by the negotiations of Comrade Shevardnadze with President Bush and Secretary of State Baker, it is carving its way all the same, and this opens up broad opportunities. I already spoke about the way the two sides behaved in the argument about medium-range missiles. It is not enough to call it stubbornness. There was unwillingness to look for a mutually acceptable solution, and now this is the fruit of new political thinking—such willingness exists. Look what is happening. Bush proposes to the Soviet Union to eliminate considerably, by 80-90 percent, the chemical weapon stocks on a bilateral basis. At the same time, the U.S. President is, as a matter of fact, making use of the methodology that we are proposing at the Vienna talks on the reduction of troops and conventional weapons in Europe. An argument about the strength of NATO and Warsaw Pact Armed Forces breaks out there from time to time. And we say: Let's leave this argument alone and agree that as a result of the reduction each side will be left with equal troop strengths and then there will be nothing to argue about. Bush proposes now, as a matter of fact, exactly the same in relation to chemical weapons. In my opinion, the mutual influence of ideas has made itself felt here, and we accept the proposals of the U.S. President, and not only accept them, but we propose to go further.

[Ptashnikov] By the way, I'll recall our proposals. The Soviet Union is prepared to halt production of chemical weapons together with the United States—this applies to binary weapons as well; to radically reduce or fully destroy the USSR's and United States' chemical weapons on a bilateral basis, and not to use them under any circumstances; and to establish the strictest verification [kontrol] of the ending and elimination of chemical means of waging war.

[Levin] In other words, when there is a desire to seek agreement, any steps, even ones which could seem small at first sight, are useful and should not be disdained. It seems to me that at the present time all the participants in international talks on the problems of the limitation of armaments and armed forces are increasingly agreed on this.

Western Cooperation With Perestroyka Urged

PM2809092589 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 23 Sep 89 p 3

[Political observer Vladlen Kuznetsov article under the "View of Events" rubric: "Perestroyka and the West"]

[Text] The eyes of the world public are fixed on Moscow. When events such as the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session which opens Monday happen here, the interest multiplies. The fact is that throughout the world there is an increasingly keen awareness that what is happening in this one-sixth of the globe directly affects all our planet. The changes in

the USSR are leaving their mark on the shaping of the present and future complexion of our world and of mankind.

No matter how dramatic the history of the USSR and all who have followed it along that path has been, and no matter how severely and mercilessly we have reproached ourselves for the grave errors and omissions, socialism has made an indisputable contribution to mankind's social and national liberation and to the affirmation of the peaceful principles of its life. Only people utterly devoid of objectivity can deny that. The more than four years of perestroyka have shown that the hopes of real disarmament, escape from the burden of armaments, the ending of bloodshed in regional conflicts, and the creation in the world of relations of trust, partnership, mutual understanding, equality, and justice are linked first and foremost with socialism. Those years have shown that socialism possesses sufficient inner reserves and potential to overcome all its ills and to acquire a second youth and that radiant appearance which has inspired and still inspires many generations of fighters for the ideas of freedom, equality, justice, and fraternity.

Perestroyka is accompanied by a wave of sympathy and approval abroad. It is not without satisfaction that we reproduce in print and in the air waves the praise addressed to perestroyka. Our perestroyka has many sincere friends, supporters, and well-wishers. But we do not deal with them alone and we should therefore be under no illusions. Far from everyone wants socialism to remain socialism now that it has shown what it can do, shown its full potential, and taken its rightful place in world history and the lives of the peoples. And thus it is necessary to clearly see who wants to pat us on the back and why, to distinguish true recognition of our merits from what are merely perfunctory and unavoidable compliments (with the public in mind) by those who nurture the hope that we will turn back from the path that we chose in 1917 and who alternate their eulogies with exultation over the "collapse" of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. And it is those people, interested not in strengthening but in weakening socialism, who remind us all that, although we live in one world, it is a world divided by class.

Official circles in the West constantly give assurances of their commitment to the success of perestroyka. One need hardly doubt the sincerity of those statements. A Soviet Union which is absorbed with domestic concerns, which pursues a more open and predictable policy, which has begun to switch resources from the military sector of the economy to the civilian sector, and which voluntarily limits its armed forces and needs appears a less formidable rival to those who have spent all these years building a policy posited on the "Soviet military threat." Thus on the eve of the meeting with E.A. Shevardnadze, President Bush expressed his happiness at the changes in the Soviet Union. However, he immediately demanded from the USSR new evidence of its "peace-loving statements," even though during the years of perestroyka considerable proof has already been provided. The President disagreed with the many politicians from the United States and elsewhere who suggest that conclusions be drawn from the easing of military confrontation and that at least part of the Pentagon's budget resources be switched to the struggle against those phenomena which worry society in the United States and elsewhere very much today. For example, to the struggle against the drug mafia and AIDS. Pierre Schori, Sweden's under secretary of state for foreign affairs, was surely right when he suggested that "AIDS and cancer sometimes arouse greater fears today than the prospect of a European war." There is logic, too, in the view of the JAPAN TIMES: "The Americans are beginning to think that Japan is a greater threat to U.S. security than the Soviet Union. And this revolution in their views is connected both with the tireless peace offensive of Mikhail Gorbachev and with the clash of Japanese and U.S. economic interests." However, some people in Washington prefer to combat not real but farfetched and mythical threats. And for that reason G. Bush argues for continued distrust of the USSR and increased combat readiness. In the past few days it has come to light that at the start of next year it is planned to conduct a series of major experiments in the "star wars" program. And this is only one of the many examples of the buildup and modernization of the Pentagon's nuclear and nonnuclear arsenals.

There are compliments for the Soviet perestroyka from other NATO capitals and Tokyo, too. But what are they really worth if there is little change in practical policy either in the approaches to the USSR or in the sphere of military activity? In Tokyo a government-approved defense white paper has just been published. One trend stands out clearly there—rejecting the increasingly widespread opinion in the country that Japan can quite easily limit its military spending in view of the profound positive changes in Soviet military policy and the strengthening of the global security factor. Here too, they are cultivating a skepticism about the success of perestroyka and casting doubt on the USSR's goodwill and practical readiness to reduce military confrontation.

The proponents of such views are trying to establish them as the West's common platform. They do not tend at all toward that pluralism so revered in the West and dismiss as naive the views of those who see in perestroyka an effective means of transforming the entire structure of international relations in a spirit of peace and humanism. It is particularly galling to those circles when authoritative and influential Western figures optimistically predict the development of the processes of transformations in the socialist states and call for active participation in those processes. In a discussion of this problem G. Andreotti, a most experienced politician and head of the Italian Government, considered that "there is a need for intelligent and prompt support from the so-called industrialized world, support which should be paralleled by rapid progress at the disarmament talks which could free resources and increase mutual trust."

Chancellor F. Vranitzky of Austria also calls for that support. In his opinion, the transformations in the East contain a vast potential for the renewal of the European Continent and offer opportunities for new forms of cooperation and peaceful coexistence. "We really must take advantage of the historic opportunity in order to support these transformations."

However, those Western forces which already regard themselves as victors in the historic rivalry between socialism and capitalism are in no hurry to take advantage of this historic opportunity. Their creed is to temporize. They temporize—and so are in no hurry to reach agreements to ease the burden of arms and military appropriations because, they believe, this merely plays into the Soviet Union's hands. They temporize—and are in no hurry to lift the discriminatory restrictions introduced during the cold war days which shackle the development of East-West trade and economic cooperation. They temporize—and spread gloomy predictions about the fate of perestroyka, intent, in G. Andreotti's words, on "cooling enthusiasm and causing disillusionment."

Vice President Quayle has adopted just such a pose of skeptic and gloomy prophet. To his own country he assigns the role of an overseer who has to keep strict watch to ensure that the West "does not give any financial aid or offer any subsidies to the USSR until it is convinced of the purposes of the reform." But has someone actually asked the United States for aid or subsidies? Moscow has never needed philanthropists. It doesn't need them now, either. The issue is simply one of mutually beneficial cooperation, joint projects, and consequently of achieving "joint success," as N. Cousins, a U.S. businessman and publicist and an organizer of the Dartmouth conference, rightly noted. That is the issue, not the sops which Washington gives to some of its vassal allies and which the latter have to repay with blind support for the unsavory aims of U.S. policy. Quayle also thinks it possible to threaten Moscow with reprisals if the latter behaves toward the Baltic republics in a way which displeases a vice president who represents the interests of extreme conservative circles. Similar arguments are used by U.S. Under Secretary of State Eagleburger, who has been imploring the NATO allies not "to make concessions to Moscow in the sphere of trade and arms control until the reforms in the USSR acquire a stable character."

And all this at the very moment when, according to statements by U.S. official representatives, President Bush "intends to assure the Soviet minister (E.A. Shevardnadze) of our support for the reforms in the Soviet Union and prevent any misunderstanding of our desire for the earliest progress in the arms control sphere." Well, such assurances are indeed necessary, especially if the U.S. capital thinks that they are and thinks that an ambiguous stance, like temporizing, will not win public support either in the United States or abroad. But assurances alone, of course, are not enough. There must be deeds, practical actions, and measures which speak for themselves and are more convincing than any words. There must be real steps leading the USSR and the United States toward a qualitatively new level of constructive interaction on all matters.

East-West Leadership Relations Improving

LD2709030789 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] The meetings last weekend between President Gorbachev and the British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher, and between the Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and the leaders of the United States notablty advanced East-West relations. The statement has been made by almost all news analysts who continue commenting on the meetings. Here now is the opinion of Mikhail Mayorov.

It seems that the East-West dialogue, whatever difficulties it might run into, is becoming easier. There are objective reasons for that. A notable improvement in the political climate helps leaders find a common language faster. But there are also subjective factors that can't help affecting world politics. We are learning more and more about Mikhail Gorbachev, George Bush, Margaret Thatcher, and their closest aides as people, not only as prominent politicians. In the final account, any summit is a meeting of personalities, and success or failure depends on purely personal qualities.

There is a widespread opinion that Soviet-British summit meetings have become regular to a great extent due to the willingness of the two leaders to meet each other. They disagree on certain aspects of nuclear disarmament, but apparently feel mutual trust and appreciate each other as speakers. This is one of the reasons for Mikhail Gorbachev and Miss [as heard] Thatcher meeting twice in less than 6 months. The next meeting will be held in the foreseeable future.

Contacts between the leaders of the Soviet Union and Western countries—another subjective factor—are now conducted in a businesslike spirit. In Washington Eduard Shevardnadze handed Mikhail Gorbachev's message to President Bush. The message contained new Soviet disarmament proposals. In the past there were cases when Moscow tried to publicize its initiatives ahead of time, sooner for propaganda reasons than for approval by the other side. Even though the closed exchange of ideas contradicts the spirit of openness, it hopefully benefits mutual understanding and what's more important, promotes concrete results. It's time to make relations between the state more humane, though this can hardly happen overnight.

Helsinki Hosts Seminar on CEMA Problems

LD2809050989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Helsinki, 27 Sep (TASS)—"A committed and frank conversation about ways of increasing the effectiveness of international economic cooperation and

actively involving the CEMA member-countries in the functioning of a world economic mechanism was held during the course of a 2-day international seminar which was jointly organized in the Finnish capital by the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System and the Helsinki Economic Research Institute." [passage omitted]

"Professor Ninel Bautina (Soviet Union) drew attention to what she described as a paradoxical situation when almost all the CEMA countries are unhappy with the present state of economic cooperation, and at the same time, very many of them object to any changes. The conflicts of interests between the CEMA countries, she went on, is in particularly sharp contrast to the general improvement in the political climate and the growing effectiveness and attractiveness of West European integration. The socialist countries must resolutely discard the old approaches to economic cooperation. There must be a switch toward pluralism in forms of cooperation in democratic conditions, which would mean full recognition of the economic interests of each country which is a part of CEMA and its participation only in those collective enterprises in which it is interested. Moreover, cooperation within the CEMA framework should be based on openness with regard to all the other states and their associations." [passage omitted]

Banned Books Displayed at International Fair

PM2709145189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 89 p 4

[G. Rezanov article: "Contracts and Contacts"]

[Text] The Moscow International Book Fair at the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements has ended.

Some 2,000 firms and publishing houses from 64 countries, and 13 international and national organizations took part in it. During the week people were hard at work, the prospects for cooperation were discussed, and agreements and contracts were signed.

The emergence of new joint ventures can be explained by the freedom of business relations. The most substantial of these ventures is the Slavic "Slaviya" association, which unites six publishing houses from the socialist countries.

Publications that until quite recently were secretly brought into our country from abroad have now been openly displayed at the fair. On the U.S. "Liberty" firm's stand were S. Alliluyeva's "Distant Music," L. Trotskiy's "Stalin's Crimes," and other books whose appearance would have been inconceivable literally a year ago.

"General Russian culture should be available to all," is the conviction of I. Levkov [name as transliterated], the owner of the publishing house. "However, our market is still limited, but I hope that our contacts will help it to expand. As for 'anti-Sovietism,' this is not a current term."

...The word "samizdat," which was so popular in recent years, looks like being glossed as "obsolete" in the dictionaries of this new time. That was the obvious conclusion to be drawn during our visit to the stands of Soviet publishing houses, where books by forgotten disgraced authors were on display. Our readers can now read the memoirs of Denikin and Kolchak, and the works of Gumilev, Khodasevich, Zamyatin.... A sample of A. Solzhenitsyn's novel "The Gulag Archipelago" was displayed by the "Sovetskiy Pisatel" Publishing House. Selected works by this writer will be published in seven volumes in 1990-1991 in collaboration with the journal NOVYY MIR.

The fair was yet another excuse to talk about mutual understanding and friendship, a representative of "Peace Church Publishers" said. At the final press conference he handed over a metal plate bearing a laser-inscribed message to M.S. Gorbachev with wishes for world peace and happiness.

And yet the demand for publications was not fully met. Our foreign partners wanted to acquire considerably larger numbers of books on the problems of democracy, glasnost, and interethnic relations in our country....

United States & Canada

Yazov To Visit United States in Early October

LD2809072389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] We have received a report about a forthcoming visit by Comrade Yazov to the United States. Army General Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau, USSR minister of defense, will pay an official visit to the United States at the invitation of the U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney at the beginning of October.

Bush's Remarks on Strategic, Chemical Arms Noted

LD2709181289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1649 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Washington, 27 Sep (TASS)—At an interview today with a small group of reporters, U.S. President George Bush said that there is "a good likelihood" that the United States and the Soviet Union will be ready to sign a treaty on cutting their strategic arsenals during the summit meeting that has been outlined for the end of spring or the beginning of summer next year. "I cannot say that I am absolutely sure that that will happen," the U.S. President noted, "but I agree that there is a good likelihood that it will be so." Bush confirmed that the United States is against a complete ban on nuclear tests, saying that they are necessary to check the fighting capacity of U.S. armaments.

The President stressed that he is pleased with the improvement in relations with the USSR, but he said that this is not a basis for weakening the military might of the United States. "I do not want to do anything naive or foolish simply because we are today closely cooperating with the Soviet Union," Bush said.

In connection with the speech by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly, the President was asked whether the United States is ready to completely destroy chemical weapons, along with the USSR, without waiting for a multilateral convention banning them and in accordance with the Soviet proposal. "No, absolutely not," he replied. "A definite sense of restraint is needed by us." Speaking Monday at the United Nations, Bush declared a readiness to destroy, jointly with the USSR, 80 percent of the chemical weapons before the conclusion of a multilateral convention, and to leave 20 percent.

Today's remarks by Bush contradict the statement that Marlin Fitzwater, his aide, made yesterday. On Tuesday, at a routine briefing in the White House, Fitzwater spoke of the readiness of the United States "to discuss the Soviet proposal about a 100-percent destruction by us of chemical weapons."

Bush Cited on Wishing Perestroyka 'Success'

LD2709173389 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Washington September 27 TASS—U.S. President George Bush has welcomed economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Speaking at the annual autumn session of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on Wednesday morning, Bush said: "I have said many times, and I want to repeat it here today, that I want to see perestroyka succeed. A more open and humane Soviet Union can only be in the best interests of the West. And as we see the evidence of that reform, we can match it with steps of our own."

Expert Says Recent Talks 'Surpassed Expectations'

LD2709164789 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—"The meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker puts Soviet-American relations on a new level," Sergey Blagovolin, chief of the department for military-economic and military-political research of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, told TASS.

Blagovolin said the results of the talks between the leaders of the foreign policy departments of the USSR and the United States even surpassed expectations. What seemed impossible just a few years ago has become a reality.

He said that as an expert on disarmament problems he is heartened above all by the breakthrough about to be made in the area and emphasised a reasonable solution to the question of the ABM Treaty in the context of the negotiations on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms.

The Soviet expert said the results of the Wyoming meeting make it possible to start preparations for a new summit. He expressed confidence that following the summit the number of intergovernmental agreements between the USSR and the United States, whose number is 39 at present, will increase.

"This is due not only to the impressiveness of specific agreements achieved in Wyoming, even though their importance can hardly be overestimated," Blagovolin said.

"What is also important is the atmosphere of mutual confidence, which, it seems, is being firmly established in bilateral relations. A new quality has been manifested in these relations: The two sides showed that they strive for far reaching agreements and in this is a promise of the successful development of Soviet-American dialogue," he said.

'New Realism' in U.S.-Soviet Relations Welcomed

PM2809095589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[Manki Ponomarev article under the rubric "Observer's Notes": "Who Dares Wins"]

[Text] These are just the first immediate outlines and the first impressions produced by Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's conversation with U.S. President G. Bush in Washington and his talks with Secretary of State J. Baker in Jackson Hole (Wyoming). It will take time to analyze all the events of these few days. But the main thing, the most essential thing, is clear even now: Soviet-U.S. dialogue is continuing.

All this is of paramount importance. Everyone is aware of the role played by USSR-U.S. relations in world politics and the fate of peace. The Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with the United States on a predictable and stable basis and is prepared to advance, combining continuity with new ideas. The United States is also expressing the same viewpoint. This readiness is founded on a more realistic perception of one another's interests. But that is not the only thing. The renunciation of the gamble on military superiority, the acknowledgment of the intolerability of war, the realization of the importance of intensive dialogue, and the transition from confrontation to cooperation have all become reality nowadays.

One could cite several statements by leading members of the U.S. Administration on this subject. But until very recently these statements were by no means always transformed into real actions and sometimes came into direct conflict with practical actions. Following the meetings in Washington and Jackson Hole, we now seem to have grounds for hoping that the situation is beginning to change. Relations between our countries are entering a new phase, a new stage—the stage of a transition from mutual understanding and dialogue to collaboration and cooperation.

In fact, six Soviet-U.S. agreements encompassing an extremely broad range of questions—ranging from accords on reciprocal visits by inhabitants of the Bering Strait region to an agreement on timely notification of major exercises by the sides' strategic forces—were signed at a stroke in these few days. The new realism, maybe slowly and with difficulty, is beginning to gain the upper hand over the old fears and prejudices.

The participants in the talks were able to make progress owing to the outstanding constructive ideas set out in M.S. Gorbachev's message, which was given to G. Bush. These ideas relate above all to problems of disarmament, including the problem of the ABM Treaty, strategic offensive arms, nuclear tests, and "open skies"—the idea put forward by the U.S. president this spring and then actively supported by the Soviet Union. The USSR stated that it is ready to sign and ratify a treaty on strategic offensive arms even if an accord is not reached on the ABM problem before the elaboration of the former treaty is completed. Provided, however, that the sides continue to observe the ABM treaty as signed in 1972.

The Soviet Union's proposed renunciation of the linkage between the conclusion and fulfillment of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, on the one hand, and the attainment of an accord on space arms, including antimissile defense, on the other, is enabling many obstacles to be removed at the Geneva talks. Their participants will now be issued with new instructions that take into account the exchange of opinions in Washington and Jackson Hole. The matter of preparing and signing a treaty on a reduction in strategic offensive arms is now becoming a reality and the practical task of the day.

The accord regarding a new summit reflected the positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations. It is scheduled for approximately late spring to early summer next year. This accord was greeted with great interest, since experience shows that such meetings are an effective means of effecting breakthroughs on the main avenues of USSR-U.S. relations.

The U.S. attitude to our perestroyka is of definite—and considerable—significance here. The administration supports it in principle. But the question of whether it will survive looms constantly in the background. The answer to this question is not obvious to Washington. Some people there cleave to the opinion that the complex situation in the Soviet Union does not facilitate the attainment of major accords since there are allegedly no guarantees that the USSR will be able to fulfill them. But there are also—let me be blunt and say it—hotheads who deem it possible to speculate on the difficulties in perestroyka and try to force the Soviet Union to steps that benefit only the West.

The talks in Wyoming showed that realism is now beginning to prevail. However, I will not undertake to categorically affirm that the United States is not hatching plans to procure unilateral advantages. By way of an example let us address the U.S. proposal on verification of the implementation of a future agreement on strategic offensive arms. Of course, it is important that the U.S. side has lifted its former ban on mobile missiles—although with some reservations. But then, it would like to confine verification to those missiles alone. Why? Because the United States simply does not have such missiles. Consequently, U.S. strategic forces would, if the U.S. proposal were accepted, be effectively withdrawn from the verification process. Only Soviet strategic forces possessing such missiles would be subject to monitoring.

Of course, each side upholds its interests at the talks. But these interests should not be selfish and egoistic interests but proper interests that accord with the nature and features of the modern world—an integral, interdependent, and interconnected world. Any proposal made and

upheld in the course of the talks must take this into account, and any interest behind such a proposal must be not only in one side's interest but ultimately in the interests of all.

Thus, Soviet-U.S. relations are entering a new period. That is all they are doing at present. A long road lies ahead. A long and difficult road. But not for nothing is it said: Who dares wins. Without doubt, the results of E.A. Shevardnadze's conversation with G. Bush, the talks between the leaders of the USSR and U.S. foreign policy departments, and the results achieved there are a step on this path. A step toward the creation of a world where both we and the Americans and all the people on our planet Earth can live a normal life without fear for the future.

Georgian Party Leader Receives USIA's Gelb

PM2809080989 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 9 Sep 89 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "Conversation at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 8 September Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary G. Gumbaridze received USIA Director B. Gelb, who is in the Soviet Union in connection with the "Design USA" exhibition that has opened in Moscow.

Acquainting the guest with the perestroyka processes in the republic, Comrade Gumbaridze noted that they are developing dynamically, although there are also difficulties that have to be overcome. It is necessary to step up the processes of democratization and glasnost, seek new forms of political leadership based on respect for all public movements, and seek to consolidate all the forces of society. Perestroyka also envisages substantial changes in the sphere of ethnic relations.

It was stressed that the activity of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, supported by the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau, is geared to the actual implementation of Georgian sovereignty. To this end political reforms are being implemented, important legislative acts are being prepared, the structure of the supreme organ of power is being improved, and so forth. Extensive work is under way to carry out an economic reform that also envisages expanding direct economic and trade links with foreign countries, in particular with the United States.

B. Gelb said that people in the United States welcome the reforms that are being carried out in the Soviet Union and sincerely hope that they are successful. The U.S. Government and people rate highly the processes of democratization and glasnost in the USSR.

Talking about the activities of his service, the guest stressed that the U.S. information program is geared to strengthening trust between the two countries and their peoples. While voicing satisfaction with the growth of cultural exchanges between the United States and the USSR, and Georgia in particular, he expressed the desire to expand contacts in the economic and other spheres as well.

During the conversation the mutual wish was expressed to expand direct links between Georgia and the United States, to set up joint enterprises, and to pool efforts in the sphere of the struggle for a clean environment. It was stressed that exchanges of delegations at all levels contribute to strengthening trust between the Soviet and U.S. peoples and serve the cause of peace and international security.

At the end of the conversation B. Gelb invited G. Gumbaridze to visit the United States. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

G. Dzhavakhishvili, Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic foreign minister; A. Churlin, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Humanitarian Ties Administration; USSR People's Artist Z. Tsereteli, chairman of the Georgian Designers' Union Board, and other officials participated in the conversation.

U.S.-Israeli War Materials Agreement Noted

LD2809050789 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] The United States and Israel have signed an agreement allowing the administration for the first time to "lend" materials, supplies and equipment to Israel for military research and development.

THE WASHINGTON POST reports today that this "unusual" agreement was signed on September 8 by U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney and Israeli Defence Minister Yitzkah Rabin.

The new memorandum of understanding amends a 1983 U.S.-Israel agreement on strategic cooperation and becomes the basis for a new form of U.S. assistance to Israel in addition to the current annual 1.8 billion dollars in military aid.

Initially both sides agreed not to publicize it because of U.S. concern that it "might anger Arab nations", the newspaper reports.

But the Pentagon officials on Monday decided to disclose the general nature of the accord following Israeli reports suggesting that Rabin had also obtained an agreement from the administration to pre-position as much as 100 million dollars worth of U.S. military supplies in Israel.

Pentagon officials said they have not decided what might be "lent" to Israel and denied that Rabin had signed any agreement for the pre-positioning of 100 million dollars worth of U.S. war material in Israel.

THE WASHINGTON POST writes one source said the figure of 100 million dollars had been mentioned in private U.S.-Israeli discussions.

The 1983 U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation accord provides for the pre-positioning of U.S. supplies and equipment, and the United States has been building facilities to house them ever since.

The material would be used by the United States in case of an emergency in the Middle East but also made available to Israel should it ever find itself at war.

The newspaper cites press reports saying the administration had asked Israel in return to drop its opposition to a likely U.S. request to congress for approval of the sale of 300 M-1A1 tanks to Saudi Arabia.

The newpaper writes the request is "under consideration" at the White House but has not been formerly transmitted to congress, according to State Department officials.

Science Magazine To Be Published in U.S.

LD2709151589 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Washington September 27 TASS—QUANTUM, the English-language equivalent of the popular Soviet science magazine KVANT, is to be published in the United States. The first issue is scheduled for November, the National Science Teachers Association announced on Tuesday.

QUANTUM is to become a quarterly publication by November 1990, after two pilot issues. The first 48-page pilot issue will consist primarily of articles by noted Soviet scientists translated from previous issues of KVANT. However, a year from now QUANTUM's content is expected to have articles by American authors, which in turn will be translated into Russian and appear in KVANT. QUANTUM is to be published by the National Science Teachers Association (NSTA), the American Association of Physics Teachers and the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics. The project is being funded by the National Science Foundation of the United States.

"Professors from the Soviet Academy of Sciences have agreed to help United States educational organisations develop a science magazine for high school students who are gifted in math and physics", the WASHINGTON POST comments in this connection. "There are no other publications designed for American students gifted in math and science".

"Soviet science has a long and rich tradition", the WASHINGTON POST quotes Bassam Shakhashiri, assistant director of the National Science Foundation's Science Education Directorate. "So does American science. QUANTUM and KVANT are two sides of a coin that will enrich not only our two countries, but the whole world."

China

PRC Workers Union Delegation Visits USSR

OW2709114589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] A delegation from the Chinese Machinery Metallurgical Workers Union, led by its Chairman Zhang Cunen, is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of USSR's All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The delegation is composed of advanced producers, trade union activists, and representatives of labor collectives of Shanghai, Harbin, Shenyang, and Taiyuan.

During the visit, the delegation has visited some enterprises in Moscow and met with the activists of USSR's Metallurgical Workers Union. The meeting discussed ways to increase direct contacts between counterpart grassroots trade union organizations and labor collectives of the two countries, and agreed on some mutually beneficial barter trade between them.

Comrade Zhang Cunen, head of the delegation, told this station that mutual support between our two countries is very important and beneficial to both sides. He expressed his thanks for the warm and friendly reception accorded the delegation in Moscow. He said that he was looking forward to some more friendly meetings with Soviet workers during the visit.

New Khabarovsk-Harbin Air Route Inaugurated

OW2709145389 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] A TU-154 passenger aircraft of the Soviet Union took off from Khabarovsk and arrived in Heilongjiang's Harbin Airport at 0745 on Friday Beijing time. This is the third new air route between the Soviet Union and China.

On 26 September, the Civil Aviation Administration of China will operate its first flight on the Harbin-Khabarovsk route. The flight number is (?AT-82). Before this, there were only two air routes between the Soviet Union and China; namely, the Moscow-Beijing route and the Alma Ata-Urumqi route.

On the new 800-km air route between Khabarovsk and Harbin, Soviet flights will depart on Fridays while Chinese flights will depart on Tuesdays.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze, Nakayama Discuss Gorbachev Visit

LD2809104589 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 28 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has met with his Japanese counterpart Taro Nakayama here.

During the meeting, marked by the desire of both countries to strengthen trust and develop relations in every possible area, they discussed in detail a wide-ranging programme for Soviet-Japanese contacts and exchanges.

The programme will be carried out as part of the preparations for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan, tentatively set for 1991.

Shevardnadze called Nakayama's attention to the Soviet Union's unilateral and far-reaching steps to reduce armed forces and armaments, including those in the Asian part of the country.

But unfounded claims about a "Soviet threat" are sometimes still to be heard in Japan. As a result, the Soviet foreign minister suggested that Soviet-Japanese talks should include the issue of how to remove the threat of military confrontation from relations between the USSR and Japan, both in practice and in public mentality.

The ministers will continue their dialogue when Shevardnadze visits Japan in March 1990. Nakayama will return the visit in late 1990 or early 1991.

Yakovlev, DPRK Party Member Discuss Cooperation

PM2709145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Second Edition p4

[TASS report: "Conversation at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 22 September A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting with Ho Tam, member of the Workers Party of Korea (WPK) Central Committee Politbureau and secretary of the WPK Central Committee.

The conversation confirmed the desire of both parties to strengthen Soviet-Korean friendship and cooperation, and also the importance of giving interparty ties a substance that meets the demands of the time and accords with the results of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and Kim Il-song.

A.N. Yakovlev briefed the Korean side on the problems being resolved by the CPSU, which are concerned with deepening restructuring and political and economic reform and consolidating Soviet society, and assessed the situation in the international arena.

Ho Tam talked about the main areas of WPK work to ensure the republic's economic development and strengthen society's ideological and political unity and about the DPRK's peace initiatives.

They exchanged opinions on the development of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and on a number of other international issues of mutual interest.

Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the meeting.

U.S. Admiral on Military Commitment to S. Korea

PM2809082989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "They Do Not Intend To Leave"]

[Text] Tokyo, 21 Sep—The United States does not intend to make any changes to the composition and structure of its forces in South Korea, U.S. Admiral H. Hardisty, commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, stated in an interview with the newspaper CHUNGANG ILBO. According to him, the numerical strength and might of the U.S. Armed Forces in South Korea "fully correspond to the function they carry out" in "preventing aggression against this state."

Stating that he welcomes the reform policy being implemented in the USSR, he also noted that "the influence of perestroyka on the balance of forces in Northeast Asia is as yet unclear." In the admiral's opinion, despite the reductions in the USSR Armed Forces in the Far East, the might of the Soviet Pacific Fleet has increased over the past 3 years owing to the reduction of outdated hardware and the acquisition of more modern weapons.

The interview with H. Hardisty coincided with the visit to Seoul of U.S. Vice President D. Quayle, who stressed that "U.S. Armed Forces will remain in Korea as long as both countries want them to and as long as they promote peace and stability." According to him, the 48,000-strong troop contingent "will continue to fulfill its role on the peninsula, serving the cause of preventing war in the region."

Thus, using in a somewhat modified form the long-familiar thesis of the "Soviet military threat," both a high-ranking politician and a high-ranking military leader have advocated the continued presence of American troops in South Korea.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodian Armed Forces Now Capable of Defense

PM2809134589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Sep 89 Single Edition p 3

[Captain A. Ryabov "Dispatch from Vietnam": "Return"]

[Excerpt] Hanoi, 20 Sep—The withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from Cambodia begins today. This event is of great significance not only for Cambodia and Vietnam but also for all of Southeast Asia. It demonstrates the good will of the countries of Indochina and their readiness to resolve the Cambodia problem by political means.

To demonstrate the significance of this event, I will remind you of what was happening 10 years ago. At that time the genocide regime had annihilated millions of Khmers. And millions of others were pleading to be rescued. At that time many countries were calmly watching the Cambodian people drown in tears and blood. In that situation Vietnam made the decision to save the fraternal people and help them to rid themselves of the clique of Pol Pot's butchers. This is how Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Cambodia, assesses that step today: "No one can forget the day of liberation from death, prisons, and fetters. The Vietnamese volunteer troops arrived in Cambodia in the nick of time. If it had not been for that day, today would have been impossible, too. Without the help of the Army and people of Vietnam, Cambodia would not be so strong today."

The Cambodian people will preserve the memory of the Vietnamese servicemen's exploits. They gave assistance in returning independence to Cambodia. They helped over many years to repulse raids by Pol Pot's gangs, and they gave assistance in building the revolutionary armed forces and restoring the national economy. The leaders of the Defense Ministry of the State of Cambodia believe that this country's armed forces are now capable of independently fulfilling the tasks of defending the motherland. And this makes it possible to withdraw the SRV's volunteer troops from Cambodia. The final troop withdrawal affecting 26,000 men is to be completed 26 September. [passage omitted]

Commentator Examines SRV Pullout From Cambodia

OW2709122289 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 24 Sep 89

[By station commentator (Shetlov)]

[Text] The last stage of the Vietnamese troops' withdrawal from Cambodia has begun. The troop withdrawal is based on a decision between Phnom Penh and Hanoi. Station commentator (Shetlov) writes in this connection:

I want to point out that the Vietnamese troops were sent to Cambodia on 25 December 1978 to help the people's uprising in that country aimed at resisting the Pol Pot genocidal system, which eliminated more than 3 million people during its 4-year rule of that country. Today the Pol Pot elements hiding in the border region of Thailand have not given up their hope of regaining the power to govern Cambodia. Will the Vietnamese troops' withdrawal become a special gift to them? I do not think so. A government full of vitality has been established in Phnom Penh and it possesses an army 50,000 strong. More importantly, the reform carried out by the present regime will guarantee the support of the majority of the people.

Of course, the possibility of prolonging the civil war still exists. But civil war can be stopped if a political settlement for this conflict is found in the near future. The Vietnamese troops'withdrawal will undoubtedly facilitate such a political settlement.

In conclusion, Comrade (Shetlov) said: The decision adopted by Hanoi and Phnom Penh is not a simple one. But do not expect swift changes. I think that this step will help restore peace in Cambodia and consolidate regional stability.

Near East & South Asia

Efforts To Settle Lebanese Crisis Described

LD2709182589 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 27 Sep 89

["Efforts To Resolve Lebanese Crisis—TASS Comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The acute conflict in Lebanon causes concern not only in Arab countries, but also in areas far away from Lebanon.

The Arab League Tripartite Committee on Lebanon stepped up its activity in mid-September in an effort to find a mutually-acceptable solution to the crisis and end the suffering of the Lebanese people.

A Soviet-American statement on Lebanon adopted at the meeting of the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state on September 23 declares support for political ways of settling the Lebanese conflict.

And now a statement on Lebanon has been issued by foreign ministers of countries of the European Community who gathered for a session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

Unanimous international concern for the destiny of Lebanon is natural, as everybody realises that the drawn out civil war can led to an outbreak of a conflagration in the region.

The actions of the Arab League, the Soviet Union, the United States and West European countries show that the world community is determined to exert efforts to end bloodletting and restore national accord in Lebanon.

It is apparent that this can only be achieved by peaceful means, mainly by a constructive dialogue between the Lebanese. Therefore the decision of head of the Lebanese Transitional Government General Michel 'Awn to accept the plan for normalisation in Lebanon advanced by the Tripartite Committee on Lebanon should be welcomed.

The success of efforts towards a political solution of the Lebanese problem can be ensured above all by a ceasefire in Lebanon and the lifting of the blockade, and by utmost assistance to the peace process by all the parties concerned.

And it is important that the process of settlement of the crisis in Lebanon be accompanied by the consolidation of Lebanon's sovereignty and independence and preservation of its territorial integrity.

A settlement in Lebanon must lead to the solution of the problem of hostages in that country. The USSR, the United States and countries of the European Community are unanimous that it is necessary to put an end to seizure of hostages and to bring about the unconditional release of them all.

The United Nations plays an important role in the quest for the solution to the Lebanese problem. But the decision to extend the mandate of the United Nations interim force in Lebanon is, perhaps, not enough.

There is a need for specific mediatory actions of the United Nations aimed at a political settlement in Lebanon. These actions combined with efforts of the Arab League, the USSR, the U.S. and the European Community can help the Lebanese establish the long-awaited peace in their country.

'Arafat Interviewed on Peace Process

LD2709180189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2018 GMT 26 Sep 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov; interview with PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov in Tunis, date not specified; interview conducted in Arabic, with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Seyful-Mulyukov] We have decided to devote our evening broadcast to a single international problem—the Near East. All the more so since events in this turbulent area are covered every day by the mass media. Getting the Near East conflict out of deadlock is a most important task, over which politicians and academics, public figures and journalists are racking their brains. I have recently returned from Tunis, where, at the PLO headquarters, Yasir 'Arafat, the chairman of its Executive Committee, gave a detailed interview for Soviet television, assessing the situation in the occupied territories, which are in the grip of the intifadah, and the prospects for a Near East settlement. I think there is no need to introduce Yasir 'Arafat to our viewers. Watch his interview:

[Begin Recording] [Seyful-Mulyukov] Abu-'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], you were 60 recently, and this is an opportunity not only to congratulate you sincerely on this anniversary, but also to talk about the phenomenon of your stormy political life. What are your feelings when you look back over the years gone by? [Video shows Seyful-Mulyukov and 'Arafat together in room]

['Arafat] It is difficult for me to talk about myself. It would be better for history, my people, my friends, and my enemies to talk about that. Since the time when, at 17-years-old, I joined the ranks of fighters for my people, I have followed that road of stubborn and long-lived struggle. There has not been a moment's peace in this turbulent life for our generation of Palestinian revolutionaries, but I see it as my supreme duty to follow this road to the end for the happiness of our much-suffering nation, our women and children, so that the Arab people of Palestine can live freely in the land of their forebears, so that our children, like the children of the whole world, can grow this tree of freedom at home in their own land.

You know the secret of a long political life? Our secret, the Palestinian phenomenon, if you like, is clear and simple: It is the ability to survive which we have acquired over the years of resistance to the occupiers. Despite the severe trials which we Palestinians have been subjected to for decades by Israel and its allies, we have stood our ground. Every time that people think the Palestinian revolution has been destroyed it rises from the ashes, from the fire, even stronger and more tenacious. A people fighting for freedom cannot be destroyed.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] You have headed the PLO, which has come through stormy shocks, from Black September in 1970 in Jordan, to the bloody dramas in Lebanon, for 20 years. How have you managed to get the Palestinian movement through all these crises?

['Arafat] At every stage of our dramatic history, the Arab people of Palestine have displayed a readiness for self-sacrifice for freedom and a life with dignity. Our people have a firmness, a conviction in defense of their national rights. This is an ability inherent not only in the current generation of Palestinians. Our antecedents were also remarkable for this, even in the times of Hannahanna, the ancient Romans and Arabs. But let us leave history to the historians. We are living not in the world of dreams and legend, but in the world of harsh reality. We are not demanding the impossible, we want equal rights and justice. This is precisely the idea behind the Palestinian peace initiative adopted at the 19th session of the Palestinian National Council in Algiers. We proclaimed the desire of the people of Palestine and their leadership for the restoration of a just peace on the soil of Palestine, a peace for the Palestinian Arabs and for the Israelis. And this came after the hard war which the Palestinians bore in Lebanon in the summer of 1982.

Israel and its main ally, the United States, calculated that the Israeli army, having made the incursion into Lebanon, would be able to finish off the PLO in 2 or 3 days. This is stated bluntly ,for example, in the memoirs of Alexander Haig, the then U.S. secretary of State. However, instead of a walkover, the generals in Tel Aviv got the longest Arab-Israeli war ever during which the Palestinian patriots displayed extraordinary firmness and courage. This war won no laurels for Israel, and was a pyrrhic victory for it. We have learned the lessons of these events, but the Israeli establishment keeps to its former, extremist, anti-Palestinian stance.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] The intifadah and the PLO's new peace program are now in your hands. Is this your final option which should lead to self-determination and independence for the people of Palestine?

['Arafat] For almost 2 years now our people in the Palestinian lands occupied by Israel have been performing miracles of steadfastness and courage during the continuing mass uprising against the occupiers. The word intifadah has entered the international vocabulary for good, despite the harsh repressions of the Israeli army it has put down deep roots among the mases of the people. It cannot be extinguished either by force of arms or by the intrigues and machinations of those who oppose self-determination for the Palestinian people. The intifadah is symbolically called the revolution of stones, for we have made a decision prohibiting Palestinians from using firearms during the uprising. The weapon of our people is its firmness and determination to secure its legitimate national rights. Of no less importance is the fact that it was precisely the intifadah which provided the stimulus for seeking out a comprehensive peace settlement in the Near East.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Abu-'Ammar, I well recall our first meeting, 20 years ago, at the Palestinian base at al-Salt in Jordan. At that time you spoke of the liberation of all Palestine by armed struggle against Israel. Your views and the political stance of the PLO have undergone an evolution since then. What caused that?

['Arafat] As I have already said, this can be explained as the Palestinian phenomenon. We are firm on matters of principle, such as the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination and to the creation of their own, independent state. But we have a realistic approach to drawing up a formula for settlement in the Near East. We find ourselves in very difficult conditions. The Arab world, too, is going through a difficult period. Formerly we particularly needed the support of all Arabs. This need has not disappeared for us, but the Arab world itself is now feeling the need of our assistance, first and foremost in the political realm. And we can say with pride that the peace platform of the PLO has been, in its turn, an important factor in strengthening the position of the Arab world. Indeed, this position has been backed up by the heroic uprising of the Arab people of Palestine against the Israeli occupiers.

Our people's belief in its own strength has been established, a belief that nobody on the outside is going to come and save the Palestinians; that they themselves will secure their national rights through the uprising of the whole people and active political struggle. Our people in the occupied territories are making immense sacrifices in order to bring the day of liberation closer. Hundreds of Palestinians have died at the hands of the Israeli chastisers. Around 47,000 have been wounded and 65,000 put behind the barbed wire, but the flame of the intifidah will not be extinguished. The occupied territories are being rocked with demonstrations, strikes, and civil disobedience. Our people are fully determined to continue the uprising right up to ending the Israeli occupation and the creation of an independent, Palestinian state. This is the resolve of the whole people, from the little boys of Palestine to the old men who have lived for decades in refugee camps. I would like to say what the Palestinian stone stands for. In history, David killed Goliath with a stone flung from a sling. The whole world has now seen the way in which the little Palestinian David is battling against the well-armed Israeli Goliath. And we are sure that we will win victory in this struggle.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Are you convinced that the Palestinian state you are fighting for, and the state of Israel, will succeed in coexisting peacefully side by side?

['Arafat] We have extended an olive branch to them and now it is the people of Israel who should give its answer: Will they follow the generals of war or the generals of peace. I expect nothing from Yasir 'Arafat, Israeli Prime Minister Shamir said recently. This is a familiar position of those forces in Israel which do not wish to compromise and enter a dialogue with the PLO.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] What do you hope for by offering Tel Aviv precisely this path of settlement?

['Arafat] I will say this: That there it is not just the dialogue with the PLO that they do not want. Israeli Minister Sharon even stated that he wanted to kill Yasir 'Arafat, and already a considerable number of Palestinian leaders have died at the hands of the Israeli extremists. As for us, we are of the view that peace in our region can only be established through acknowledging the freedom of choice and by safeguarding a balance of interests of all the sides that are parties to the conflict. Why not, to give an example, use the Namibian variant of settlement, in order to resolve the Palestinian problem?

Namely, elections should be held on the occupied territories under UN auspices and in the presence of UN forces, so that these elections become a part of the peace process which would lead to the implementation of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to the creation of an independent state of their own. A similar settlement plan is being implemented in Namibia, where the United States is doing quite a bit to see it implemented. We favor this variant of settlement. Shamir, however, continues to say no to the Palestinian people, to their self-determination, to the creation of an independent Palestinian state. He continues to say no to a dialogue with the PLO; no to our peace initiative. We are, however, showing endurance and patience and we say to the Israeli leadership: No one can halt the course of history.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] It is reported that the PLO is already engaged in talks with some Israeli politicians. If this is the case, what are the prospects for these talks?

['Arafat] We are ready to start a dialogue with all the peace-loving forces in Israel; forces that believe in a

peaceful coexistence of both peoples; that believe in the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the right to return and create an independent state. With these forces we are ready to start a dialogue at any time.

[Seyful-Mulyakov] What is your attitude toward the Shamir plan?

['Arafat] Shamir's plan is not addressed to the Palestinian people. They are not even mentioned in this plan. Palestinians are called in these proposals merely the population, and not even Palestinians. They are offered a so-called autonomy—in essence under the occupants' control. Well—who, then, is going to agree with this? Should we legitimize Israeli colonialism? Should we acknowledge as legitimate the extermination of the Palestinian Arabs? We say: The Palestinian peace initiative exists. Last year it was approved by the United Nations at a special session of the General Assembly in Geneva. In connection with this initiative, the United Nations adopted its Resolution 176 for which 138 states voted, except for Israel and the United States. Practically the whole world has lent its support to the PLO's peace program—the European countries, the socialist, nonaligned, and Muslim states did. The whole world is in favor of halting the confrontation in the Near East. That is why I say again that Shamir will not for long succeed in swimming against the tide. Recently the Arab countries and Egypt, in particular, put forward their own proposals on the Palestinian problem. I have here in mind the plan by Mubarak, president of Egypt. Much is being said about the Egyptian initiative. Cairo has sent a number of proposals to the Israeli Government, but no official approval has so far been forthcoming. We see these proposals as 10 questions put by the Egyptian Government to Israel, unanswered, so far.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] How were you able to persuade the U.S. Administration to enter into a dialogue with the PLO? Only recently it called it an illegal and a terrorist organization. What have the four rounds of the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue that have taken place shown?

['Arafat] The Palestinian problem is a reality in the Near East equation. No settlement, stability or peace are possible in the Near East without the Palestinian people's inalienable national, rights being satisfied. This has become even clearer following the known decisions of the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council and following our peace initiative which has met with extensive support the world over. This initiative was set out in my speech during a special session of the UN General Assembly, which transferred its work to Geneva when the U.S. Administration decided to refuse me an entry visa into the United States. At that time, 154 UN member states voted to transfer the venue of the work of the General Assembly to Geneva. And it was there that Resolution 176 was adopted. It is precisely under the influence of these factors that the U.S.- Palestinian dialogue was started. Even though it is developing very slowly and has so far failed to yield desirable results, we are unequivocally in favor of continuing it. It is with interest that we received the results of the talks between the Soviet foreign minister and U.S. Secretary of State Baker. They reiterated their support for the activation of the peace process in the Near East. We are of the view that in the final analysis this process should lead to a convocation of an international UN-sponsored conference, with the participation of the permanent Security Council members and all the parties to the Near East conflict, including the PLO and the Israeli Government, in order to attain an equitable and all-embracing solution to the Palestinian problem. I must, unfortunately, note that the U.S. Administration is still sticking to the Shamir plan.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Abu-'Ammar, How do you succeed in simultaneously showing firmness in defending the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and flexibility in elaborating political decisions? Maybe it is precisely in this that the secret of your policy is to be found?

['Arafat] We are not dealing with supernatural events. We are dealing with political realities. True revolutionaries and politicians take into account the reality as it is. They deal with tangible factors, good or bad, easy or complex, possible or impossible, no matter what they are. The most important thing for us is that we make use of all opportunities to make our people's national aspirations come true.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] And what if Israel says a final no to a settlement with the Palestinians? What can happen then? Are you ready to continue this difficult struggle further?

['Arafat] I wish to ask you: Where are those who tried to enslave Europe, Vietnam, Algeria, India, and Africa? All of them suffered defeat. Further: Agreements are signed to limit nuclear arms, missile weaponry, and other mass destruction arms. These agreements apply to many countries, but not to the Near East, where all types of arms are constantly piling up. The alternative to peace in this region can only be an explosion and a war that will leave nothing but destruction in its wake. Methods of using force have no future.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] The platform worked out at the Algiers session—is it your final position, or do you have something else in reserve to attain the Palestinian people's goals?

['Arafat] We have worked out a strategic course which met with approval throughout the world and we shall adhere to it.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] What can you say about the results of the recent congress of al-Fatah—a major Palestinian organization you are heading.

['Arafat] We have elected a new leadership. We confirmed that the intifadah is a decisive factor in the struggle against the Israeli occupation, we have declared

our adherence to the PLO's peace initiatives—and this means that a single, all-Palestinian line exists.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] What is the Arab countries' attitude towards these initiatives? Can we now talk of the Arab consensus with regard to the Palestinian leadership's line?

['Arafat] Undoubtedly. At the Casablanca Arab summit we received pan-Arab support for our position. And this is very important. The Palestinian peace initiative has thus acquired a pan-Arab nature. I believe that the new thinking and perestroyka in the USSR also facilitates a political settlement of regional conflicts. So far no tangible progress is to be seen in the Near East as far as a peaceful settlement is concerned.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] In connection with this, how do you appraise Palestinian-Soviet interaction?

['Arafat] I should stress that close cooperation is developing between the PLO and the USSR on issues of the Near East settlement, and in solving the vital Palestinian problem. A Soviet-Palestinian Near East Committee is working all the time. It works in Moscow and here in Tunis. This committee coordinates our joint efforts. Its participants discuss various details of the situation in the region and compare our positions, collating them. We express profound gratitude to the USSR people and leadership for their invariable support for the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, support for our constructive and realistic initiative the aim of which is freedom, peace, and security for all the peoples in this region.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] The time has come to complete our conversation. In conclusion, I would like to ask you Abu-'Ammar—from the height of this difficult history of the Palestinian people do you look to the future with optimism?

['Arafat] Of course. Our strength is nurtured not only by firmness, but also by the belief in the future of the Palestinian people. The dawn of freedom has not yet come over the Palestinian soil. We are confident that day will come. [end recording]

Afghan Rebel's Threat Seen Aimed at Soviet Union

PM2809120989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

["On the Spot" report by special correspondent Yu. Vladimirov: "Air War"]

[Text] Kabul, 23 Sep—In a broadcast in Dari, citing AFP, VOA reported that field commander Abdul Hak [name as transliterated], who leads the gangs operating in the capital's environs, has warned all air companies involved in international flights against using Afghan airports, because they are regarded by the armed opposition as military facilities of the "Kabul regime." By threatening to shoot down aircraft from any country as they approach an airport or destroy them as they stand on the tarmac, the bandits have essentially proclaimed themselves international terrorists.

Washington is in cahoots with them. If the rebels actually do use weapons against other countries' aircraft, those who supply the international terrorists with lethal weapons will be their accomplices.

I thought about Abdul Hak's statement and I tried to understand why VOA had transmitted it in the language spoken by the majority of the Afghan population. Is it prompted by the desire of the opposition, dug in in Pakistan, to turn the Afghan people against the republic's official authorities, or is it a kind of ultimatum to them: Reject the "Kabul regime" or, when winter comes and snow covers the mountain passes, we will "close the air bridge" which carries food supplies for the population.

But, perhaps, by this statement, the "irreconcilables," endeavoring to justify the dollars they have been allocated to overthrow the lawful government, are declaring an "air war" on it.

"The bandits' threat," A. Vasilenko, Aeroflot general representative in Afghanistan, said, commenting on the report, "is aimed directly at our country. It is, after all, Soviet aircraft that land most often at Afghan airports. In particular, the Tashkent-Kabul airlift operates nearly every day, bringing food to Afghanistan both from the Soviet side and from UN agencies."

Rocket attacks on Kabul airport have become a regular thing, seriously hampering operations," my interlocutor continued. "Although the rocket fire is random, airport equipment has been damaged and people have been killed. No more than 10 days ago a rocket destroyed an Afghan transport aircraft and damaged an aircraft flying the UN flag. Abdul Hak's threat, of course, forces Aeroflot to take extra steps to ensure safe passage for aircraft and forces the Afghan side to create an additional airfield security system. Flights will continue."

Parliamentarians Leave for Morocco, Algeria

LD2709233689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Sep (TASS)—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, led by Gaibnazar Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan, left Moscow today on an official visit to Morocco and Algeria at the invitation of parliamentarians of those countries.

Among those seeing them off was Rabah Souibes charge d'affaires ad interim of Algeria in the USSR.

Andreyev Comments on Iran's Economic Relations

NC2709142589 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani said recently: All of us should take practical and specific steps to meet the needs of the Iranian people.

These remarks very clearly indicate the main direction of the new cabinet's economic strategy. The Iranian leadership is now primarily focusing on serious problems in the economy. Naturally, a large amount of foreign exchange will be needed to overcome these problems and to aid in Iran's postwar reconstruction. In addition, Tehran needs reliable partners with whom it can deal on the basis of equality.

It seems that the search for new partners and allies is the main objective of the current visit by the Iranian minister of economic affairs and finance to Washington. Mohsen Nurbakhsh arrived in the United States last Wednesday. This past week he participated in the discussions of the Group of 24 which is made up of developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, countries which face similar problems. According to Nurbakhsh, problems related to the developing countries' debts, their participation in the activities of the IMF and the World Bank, and their relations with the industrialized countries were discussed at this meeting. Apparently the Group of 24 was able to formulate a common platform. This organization is participating in the IMF conference as a united front.

It is reported that this organization will demand more time to repay their debts to Western countries and the establishment of a more just world economic system. Meanwhile, reports also indicate that Iran, whose representative is currently the deputy chairman of the Group of 24, was extremely active during the organization's talks. His approach has been both noteworthy and valuable. It should also be noted that Iran's representative will head the next session of the Group of 24.

Most experts believe that the Islamic Republic of Iran's goal of economic independence requires a change in Tehran's strategy in its foreign economic relations. It is becoming increasingly clear that Iran's economic orientation toward cooperation with the West has no future. On the one hand, Iran's mistrust of and disgust with Western countries complicates expanding cooperation with them. On the other hand, the West doesn't do anything for free. Western economic assistance to Iran is tied to important political demands. The Western countries want the Islamic Republic of Iran to abandon its principled policy on the international scene. Naturally Tehran cannot accept such a demand. This is why Iran wants to establish closer relations with its other economic partners, which is completely logical.

It is no accident then that Soviet-Iranian relations, which are based on equal rights and on the principle of mutual benefit, have been considerably strengthened. It should be said that both Iran and the Soviet Union will gain from bilateral economic relations. However, Iran does not want to lean toward one country only, and continues to search for new allies and partners.

Commentary Notes Support for Sri Lanka Cease-Fire

BK2809100189 Moscow International Service in Tamil 1400 GMT 27 Sep 89

[(Vadim Menikov) commentary]

[Text] According to the reports of the Sri Lankan Ministry for Information, the government security forces have begun observance of their 3-day unilateral cease-fire beginning 27 September against the Sinhalese extremists, aimed at restoring peace in the island. Our commentator (Vadim Menikov) writes:

The Sri Lankan leaders have extended another opportunity to the Sinhalese extremists in the JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, People's Liberation Front] to surrender their arms during the cease-fire. Already, an accord has been reached with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam [LTTE]. It is a good sign. If the JVP also follows the example of the LTTE, it is really possible to find a peaceful political solution to the ethnic conflict in the country.

There have been several discussions about the political aspect of a solution to this issue. We would like to discuss the economic aspect of this problem.

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has been continuing for about 9 years. The serious consequences of the armed conflicts by various extremist groups against the government as well as against one another are very difficult to comprehend. This meaningless conflict has already cost the lives of several thousand people and caused losses of several millions of rupees. As a result of the Sri Lankan Government's efforts to end the conflict and thanks to the military assistance of neighboring India, a number of issues that were responsible for violence have already been settled.

Now, almost all the political forces in Sri Lanka have realized that it is not possible to solve the ethnic conflict militarily. As a result of the emergence of a feeling that it is essential to change over to peaceful ways, the talks between the government and the LTTE leaders began. It was possible to bring the basic political forces of the country under a common national forum. The Sri Lankan Government and all the political parties and groups that attend this conference have realized that it will not be easy to achieve a final solution to the conflict. But it did not deter them; nor did it shake their determination to find a solution through talks that is acceptable to all parties. Because [they felt that] the way to finding a political solution to the issues would not vitiate the situation in the country. If it is not possible to

prevent clashes of ideas, let them be carried out peacefully. Let there be mutual debates, but there should not be any assaults. This will protect the lives of several thousands of people and prevent damage to national property and economy.

During the past 9 years of the conflict, the country's economy was badly affected. Today, the activities of the JVP continue to cause great damage to the national economy. For instance, the strikes sponsored by the extremists affect production and exports from the country. The leader of the All Ceylon Exporters Association, (L. Fernando), told newsmen that since the beginning of this year, the country's exports have declined to an alarming level. Moreover, he said that as a result of strikes the entrepreneurs could not execute their commitments and agreements.

Consequently, foreign exchange earnings through exports decreased, and allotments for people's welfare programs dwindled. According to several economists, a situation has arisen which forces the government to abandon several welfare programs. The number of foreign tourists has also decreased. Formerly, tourism was providing a permanent income. The activities of terrorists scared away many foreign tourists. According to the report of the National Bank of Sri Lanka, income from tourism has decreased from (?21 million dollars) to 12 million dollars during the first half of this year. Needless to say, this sort of financial problem ultimately affects the poor people in Sri Lanka.

In fact, the extremists, who say they are working for the sake of the people, inflict heavy losses on them and (?assassinate their representatives) as well. Therefore, now that the government has announced a unilateral cease-fire, one should consider: What do these extremists wish for their people—peace, war, or poverty? The Sri Lankan people are eagerly awaiting a reply to this question.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Military Chiefs Receive Ugandan Army Commissar

PM2709155389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers in Uganda's National Resistance Army headed by Lieutenant Colonel S. Luanga [name as published], chief political commissar of Uganda's National Resistance Army, visited the Soviet Union 10 through 16 September at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation was received by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense. Questions of mutual interest were discussed during friendly talks.

The Ugandan delegation had a meeting with Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

F. Khatega [name as published], charge d'affaires ad interim of the Republic of Uganda in the USSR, participated in the meetings and talks.

At the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate the Ugandan guests were familiarized with experience in organizing political-educational work in the Soviet Armed Forces. The delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy, where it was afforded an opportunity to familiarize itself with the training of political worker cadres.

The delegation members visited the Odessa Military District.

The Ugandan guests visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and familiarized themselves with historical and revolutionary sites in Moscow and Odessa.

Burkina Faso Party Delegation Visits

PM2709145789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation from the People's Front of Burkina Faso headed by S. Compaore, member of the Front's Executive Coordinating Committee, was in the Soviet Union 15 through 21 September at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The Burkinabe guests familiarized themselves with the CPSU's activity at the present-day stage. Talks were held at CPSU Central Committee departments. The delegation took a trip to Volgograd.

Ethiopian, Somali Conflicts Detailed

EA2509174489 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 23 Sep 89

[From "East Africa Last Week" program]

[Excerpt] At the beginning of this week, we reported on the Atlanta peace talks between the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front. The talks, which took many days, were not fruitless. The two delegations, who negotiated on the preliminary issues to resolve peacefully the 30-year-old internal conflict, have reached an initial agreement on the language to be used and the next venue of their second round of talks. A first

hopeful step has been taken to resolve the continent's longest running internal conflict, which has greatly hurt the Ethiopian people.

What lies behind this successful step? In addition to the two parties' realization that the conflict cannot be solved militarily, the peace talks on Africa's hot spots, such as Angola, Namibia, Western Sahara, and Mozambique have contributed to the success of the Atlanta talks. The next round of talks will be held on November 18 in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi. Two months remain before the meeting, during which time a lot of patience and good will should be developed. Otherwise, the tangible hope now at hand could be lost.

The new political thinking which seeks solutions to internal conflicts also concerns another East African country, Somalia. Last Wednesday, the country's president, Mohammad Siad Barre, called on opposition rebels to begin negotiations. According to the president, if the rebels are willing to preserve the national unity of the country, the government is ready to negotiate with them at any time and place. The president's statement confirms the government's statement last August on the reestablishment of the multiparty system. Based on the multiparty principle, parliamentary elections will be held in 1990.

The Barre government has faced a difficult situation and has lost control of many parts of the country. But it intends to overcome the orchestrated cooperation by the different tribes of opposition rebels. The government is also trying to solve the economic chaos in the country by relaxing tension. In any case, the Somali leaders' effort to peacefully resolve the problem with the opposition forces should be supported because peace is in the interests of the war-ravaged economy and the thousands of refugees in foreign lands. Moreover, if the activities of the government soldiers go beyond the border, that could exacerbate relations with neighboring countries. Last Thursday, the Kenyan Foreign Minister Robert Ouko sent a protest note to the Somali Government because Somali soldiers crossed the Kenyan border. The Somali soldiers killed workers and policemen at a Kenyan border village, while in hot pursuit of Somali Patriotic Movement opposition rebels, the minister stated. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Ethiopian Peace Talks

EA2509212089 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Commentary from "A Few Out of Many" program]

[Text] The peace talks which have been going on between the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front [EPLF] in Atlanta, U.S. have wound up. The two sides have agreed that a comprehensive first round of talks be held in Nairobi, Kenya, on 18 November, with the aim of resolving the conflict in Eritrea. War has been going in Eritrea for 28 years. Many families from the two warring parties have lost their children. Experience so far has shown there can be no winner in the war. The representatives of the Ethiopian side and the Eritrean group confirmed at the Atlanta talks that they have properly realized this state of affairs. Although the positions of the two sides are different on one question or another, and there are even contradictions, they have demonstrated a realization that it is necessary to settle the Eritrean conflict.

It is appropriate to understand that the recent talks were only preliminary ones aimed at preparing the agenda for the upcoming meeting. The negotiators have made efforts to understand one another. They have exchanged their programs. According to the information we have received from Atlanta, they have agreed on the 13-point agenda which they presented for discussion. The questions of the number of negotiators, the language, the venue of the meeting, and so on have been resolved. As mentioned earlier, it was agreed that the venue of the next talks would be in a country near Ethiopia.

Accordingly, Kenya, the Sudan, Egypt, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and North Yemen were proposed as possible venues. Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, was chosen. The important thing is not the choosing of the venue, but making everything possible for the talks to proceed smoothly. The Ethiopian people have gained hope with the start of the Atlanta talks. It is to be recalled that President Mengistu Haile Mariam said recently that the Ethiopian people are ready to make any sacrifice for peace to prevail in the country.

East Europe

Slovene Assembly Debate on Constitution Noted

LD2709145389 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade September 27 TASS—The Slovenian Assembly (Parliament) has launched a debate on draft amendments to the republican constitution at a session that opened in Ljubljana today.

The proposed changes to the fundamental law of this constituent republic of Yugoslavia have reverberated all over the country.

The Yugoslav collective presidency pointed out recently that the adoption of several amendments, in the form they are proposed, would question the performance of the Yugoslav Federation's functions defined by the national Constitution.

The commission of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly (National Parliament) on constitutional issues made the following assessment after nearly seven hours of debate yesterday on amendments to the Slovenian constitution: Some amendments do not correspond to the federal Constitution, others are related to issues that are regulated only by the country's fundamental law.

Among these amendments are provisions:

—on the republic's right to self-determination, secession and unification,
—on Slovenia's economic sovereignty,
—on the obligation of federal bodies operating on Slovenian territory to use only the Slovenian language,
—on the introduction of special rights for some native ethnic groups,
—on the right of protection against decisions of federal bodies which contradict provisions of the Slovenian constitution,
—on decisions regarding the introduction of the state of emergency and use of the Yugoslav People's Army in peacetime,
—on the duty of members of the Yugoslav collective presidency from Slovenia to respect only its constitution.

The commission ruled that the Federal Chamber of Yugoslavia's Federal Assembly should recommend the Slovenian Assembly to put off the adoption and review disputable amendments.

On the basis of the commission's conclusion, the Federal Chamber decided late last night by a majority of votes to recommend the Slovenian Assembly to postpone the adoption of the disputable amendments.

A similar decision was made by an extraordinary plenary meeting of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's Central Committee that continued non-stop for 15 hours and ended only this morning.

Decisions of LCY Plenum on Slovenia Reported

LD2709221989 Moscow TASS in English 2147 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade September 28 TASS—Ideological and political problems relating to the draft amendments to the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia were debated at the extraordinary plenum of the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee which concluded its work here on Wednesday.

The proposal to lay down in Slovenia's fundamental law a provision on the right of secede and join another state evoked protest on the part of the country, said L. Varoslija, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee.

The draft amendments, he went on to say, proposes restricting the powers of federal bodies on the territory of the republic which poses a threat to political stability in the country.

Each republic has the right to promulgate its own fundamental law, but it must be consistent with the provisions of the Constitution of the Socalist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and be based on respect for its principles expressing the will of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, the speaker stressed.

Chairman of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee M. Pancevski noted that the plenum was called upon to pass judgement on the draft amendments which were at variance with the constitutional structure of the Yugoslav federal state. The proposed amendments, he pointed out, violate the basic principles of the Yugoslav Federation and place the other republics in a position of inequality.

The draft amendments to the constitution of Slovenia, the resolution of the plenum noted, fanned up tension in Yugoslavia. They posed a threat to the relations within the federation and to the functioning of the bodies of state authority.

The Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party proposed that amendments to the constitutional system of Slovenia be postponed which is consistent with the stance on this matter taken by the supreme body of state authority of Yugoslavia—the Presidium of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party called on the party organizations of Slovenia to act within the framework of adopted decisions in seeking for a way out of the present dramatic situation and creating conditions for democratic dialogue.

Communists must combat confrontation between certain republican political bodies and seek to normalize inter-ethnic relations in the country, the resolution of the plenum of the Yugoslav Communist Party stressed.

The draft amendments to the constitution of Slovenia was also considered by the Commission on Constitutional Matters of the country's parliament which stated that some of these amendments are at variance with the country's Constitution, or are of nature that is regulated only by the country's fundamental law.

On the basis of the conclusions at which the parliamentary commission arrived, the upper chamber of the Yugoslav parliament decided on a recommendation to Slovenia's parliament to put off the legitimatization of the controversial amendments.

Further Reportage on Vlasov's Visit to SFRY

Visits Enterprises in Novi-Sad

LD2809093389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondents Viktor Kuznetsov and Mikhail Ovcharenko report:

Aleksandr Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, who is in Yugoslavia on an official friendly visit, today visited Novi-Sad (Vojvodina Autonomous Region).

He had friendly conversations with Jon Srbovan, president of the Vojvodina Republican Executive Council, and Yugoslav Kostic, president of the Presidium of Vojvodina. Much attention was paid to the specific

issues of economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation between the Russian Federation and the autonomous region of Vojvodina, which is a member of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Under conditions of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and the improvement of economic and political systems in Yugoslavia, a transition to a practical introduction of higher forms of cooperation should be decisively undertaken. The course for the development of ties between republics and krays is defined in the program of the main lines of cooperation between the Russian Federation and Serbia for 1988-90.

A.Vlasov was acquainted with the economic complex of the Danube-Tisa-Danube Canal. The 1,000-km hydrotechnical system, which is a regulator of the water system in Vojvodina, has radically changed the appearance of the "Granary" of Yugoslavia.

The complex specialists told members of the Soviet delegation that industry has been created at the base of the canal for processing agricultural produce, which includes construction, supply, and transport enterprises, container and flexible packaging works, enterprises for the processing of sunflower seeds, milk and meat and for the production of frozen products, juices, and confectionary. The enterprises of Vojvodina, as a sphere of intensive farming, are actively participating in the implementation of a project of an agroindustrial combine in Krasnodarsk Kray.

Further on the delegation's route is the Institute of Plant and Vegetable Growing in Novi-Sad, which is named the outpost for the production of agricultural produce in Yugoslavia. Three hundred enterprises are members of the organizations. The main direction of the institute's activity is the supply of agro-industrial combines and to supply hundreds of thousands of peasants with hybrids of corn, wheat, barley, sunflower, and soya created here.

During the second half of today, concluding talks between the delegations of the Russian Federation and Serbia will take place in Belgrade.

Talks With Serbia's Milosevic

PM2809163389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS reports under general heading: "Visit to Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 25 Sep—[passage omitted] On 25 September A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, met with S. Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

A thorough exchange of opinions on a number of questions pertaining to cooperation between the Russian Federation and Serbia was held. The sides noted with satisfaction the successful and fruitful development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations in the political, economic, cultural, scientific, technical, and other spheres. Special attention was focused on questions of the expansion and improvement of direct multifaceted ties between the RSFSR and Serbia. These ties encompass many spheres and involve many enterprises, organizations, and associations. The sides regard cooperation as an integral part of the full range of Soviet-Yugoslav relations which invests them with immediacy and directness. The outlined plans to expand collaboration between the two republics are reflected in the jointly drawn up document on key spheres of cooperation between the RSFSR and Serbia for 1988-1990. The potential for cooperation at republic level is favorably complemented by the circumstance that direct ties are also being developed between Moscow and Belgrade, Krasnodar Kray and Vojvodina, Dagestan and Kosovo, Kursk and Titovo Uzice.

S. Milosevic described the work of the Serbian Presidency aimed at resolving immediate and long-term tasks in party, economic, and cultural building and preparing the republic's Communists for the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia and the 14th (Extraordinary) Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY].

A.V. Vlasov briefed him on how people in the Russian Federation are tackling major tasks in restructuring the life of Russian society and implementing the decisions of the party Central Committee plenums aimed at accelerating the socioeconomic development of the Soviet Union. Key questions of perestroyka and the experience accumulated during its implementation will find expression at the upcoming 28th CPSU Congress.

S. Milosevic gave a dinner in honor of the Soviet guests at which the sides exchanged toasts.

V.P. Loginov, Soviet ambassador to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was present at the meetings and talks between A.V. Vlasov and Serbian leaders.

The Soviet delegation visited the "Beograd" agro-industrial combine, which is one of Yugoslavia's biggest agricultural enterprises. During conversations with farm specialists the successful and mutually advantageous cooperation between the agro-combine and similar Soviet enterprises was noted.

The delegation visited the memorial cemetery where Soviet servicemen who fell during the liberation of Belgrade are buried and laid a wreath.

On the same day the Soviet delegation paid a visit to Belgrade's Municipal Assembly and talked with the city's leaders.

Chaos in Poland Said 'Not in PZPR's Interests'

PM2709144189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview in Warsaw with Leszek Miller, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, by I. Nekrasov: "To Struggle for Trust"; date not given]

[Text] Warsaw-Moscow—My meeting with Leszek Miller took place in the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee building at the very center of Warsaw at a time when many residents of the Polish capital had long since returned home after their working day. Events that have occurred literally in the last few weeks determined the main topics of conversation—the regrouping of political forces, the formation of a new government by the former opposition, the exacerbation of the country's economic and social problems.

[Nekrasov] Poland has now entered a new political epoch with no precedent in socialist countries. The former opposition has formed a government. Statements are even being made that the country must return to building capitalism. Is this a historical necessity for Poland?

[Miller] The statement about the country's return to building capitalism in Poland belongs to Walesa, and I personally do not share his viewpoint. He generally voices very varied opinions. Thus, for example, Walesa recently said that he has nothing against socialism, provided that socialism is like it is in Sweden. I cannot say that our party shares that viewpoint.

[Nekrasov] Soviet people are now particularly concerned about the PZPR's positions in Polish society. What tasks do Communists set themselves?

[Miller] The restructuring of socialism is essential today. And we must bring it to the point where it corresponds to the demands of the present. Whereas the PZPR's leading role used to be enshrined in an article of the Constitution, we must now struggle for such a role, seeking the people's support. This is precisely the fundamental difference between the party as it used to be and the party we have now. I will point out in particular that we have not previously been faced with such problems. And we must resolve new tasks in accordance with them, the most immediate of which will be posed at the coming 11th PZPR Congress. The party's platform will be elaborated in the very near future.

The chief task for the PZPR now is to prevent a split in the party. The sentiments of disillusionment and even aggressiveness in the Communist ranks result from the fact that we suffered defeat in the elections and feel that we are in the position of losers. Even now we painfully feel the consequences of failure. In my opinion, it is sentiments like that which threaten party unity.

At the same time we must not speak of a mass departure of PZPR members from its ranks. In my opinion, the problem is one not of how many people are leaving but of who is leaving. If an occasional member quits the party's ranks, I would even open the doors for him and say: "Please leave." But at present the renunciation of party cards is not so noticeable as to draw attention to it. Even the contrary—people are joining the party.

[Nekrasov] Does the PZPR Deputies' Club always act in close reciprocal contact with the party's Central Committee? This question concerns, above all, the well-known "Statement of 15" members of this club on amending the article in the Constitution on the party's leading role.

[Miller] That decision was not coordinated with the Central Committee. The statement even surprised the remaining members of the party's deputies' club. Not all of its representatives even knew that such a proposal was to be made. It is a question not of the essence—that this article of the Constitution must be eliminated—but of the form in which the statement appeared. Without any consultation or coordination either with Central Committee members or even with members of the PZPR Deputies' Club. This does not square with normal relations.

It must be pointed out that this is something altogether new to us—ties between the party and the PZPR Deputies' Club. We are seeking to organize them and to work in cooperation. There has been both progress and mutual complaints. But we realize perfectly well that the club cannot and must not be a kind of driving belt of the Central Committee, nor a mere executor of our decisions. But their actions must be coordinated: There cannot be two Central Committees....

[Nekrasov] What, in your opinion, is the way out of the crisis in the party?

[Miller] There is no single prescription. This will even largely depend not so much on the political situation in the country as, above all, on how quickly the country copes with the economic problems. Poland is now in a state of very grave economic crisis. Thus, for example, the transfer of agricultural sectors to a market footing is not yet having the expected effect. People still assess the situation in the country through the prism of prices, and those are rising with every passing day. The situation is exacerbated by growing inflation and by pessimistic sentiments in Polish society. If the situation does not change over the next few months or even weeks, a very unfavorable development in the situation and a social explosion of public discontent are possible. Precisely, this may prove outside the control of the party, "Solidarity" and other social forces in the country. This social explosion may be directed against everything and everyone in Poland.

[Nekrasov] Do you not fear chaos—since the emergence of different trends and directions within "Solidarity" and the political parties, including the PZPR, has recently become apparent?

[Miller] I do fear that, and I do not hide the fact. But the chief point is that we lack the appropriate experience or historical analogues. No one has yet traveled the path that Poland is now taking. So it is scarcely possible for anyone to forecast how it will all end. I do not rule out a single variant of events. It is possible that the situation will right itself, and people will feel more secure and take an active part in the life of the country. But it is also possible that everything could start to disintegrate and state structures would collapse. In talking in these terms let me note in particular: It is by no means certain that the democratization of social life is bound to be accompanied by growth in labor productivity. In short, I look at the situation in Poland on the one hand with hope but, on the other, with caution.

[Nekrasov] I would not want to speak of an extreme situation regarding the development of events in the country, but nonetheless the question demands an answer. What if anarchy comes about? What is to be done then?

[Miller] Perhaps the "Solidarity" premier in the government will ask the country's president to impose emergency measures and martial law. But that, I will point out, is an extreme forecast.

[Nekrasov] Another problem for the present PZPR is relations with contemporary Poland's younger generation. How is its confidence in the party to be restored?

[Miller] On meeting with young people I frequently ask them: Would you not like to live in a social system in which everyone has equal starting conditions in life and is able to realize his potential in accordance with his ideals and convictions? In other words, to be in a society where fairness is the chief criterion in relations between people and the state, so that market mechanisms function in this society, and the state regulates these mechanisms for the benefit of all. This society would be founded on the ideas and traditions of humanism. Yes, the young people reply, we would like to. And this is the PZPR program—we reply. But, they declare, we do not read your program. Above all because we do not trust you, and so we are not interested in the PZPR program.

Therefore the chief thing for us now is to get through to young people's hearts and minds, making them understand that our ideas, which we want to realize, are noble ideas that accord with their own aspirations. But you have spoken of this so many times, the young people answer us. Government has followed government, but we have had and still have nothing. So let others now try to realize these fine principles. Perhaps they will succeed in doing so.

Here is another fact. I participated in the elections. I lost, like my colleagues. At meetings with me voters said: Everything is fine, we have nothing against you. Your ideas make sense, and we would very much like them to be implemented. But for how many years have you wanted to do precisely this? And you represent precisely the party that for so many years gave us only promises. If you were not in the PZPR, things would be different....

[Nekrasov] Is the party getting young reinforcements now?

[Miller] The average age of Communists is 46. This indicator has, all the same, increased [as published] in recent years. In other words, the influx of young people into the PZPR is not great, but it does exist. And approximately half of those now joining the party are under 29 years old. We would like to see more active, vigorous young people in the PZPR's ranks. But for the time being the situation is as it is.

However, I must also mention the fact that the age of "Solidarity's" leaders is also very, very considerable. You encounter young representatives, not much over 30, in our party's leadership more frequently than in theirs, as well as in the Democratic Party and the United Peasant Party.

[Nekrasov] You can sometimes hear a viewpoint according to which a parallel is drawn and the party is identified with Stalinism. What can you say in this regard?

[Miller] We have already adopted decisions to eliminate the vestiges of Stalinism in the party. But statements are one thing, and human memory is another. It takes time. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the party is the initiator of the cardinal reforms in the country and the instigator of the introduction of the new system of parliamentary democracy, which is being built with due regard for the interests of all social groups. This is borne out, above all, by the accords reached at the "round table" and by the growth of the masses' creative activeness.

[Nekrasov] The former opposition has formed a government. What, in your opinion, should the Polish Council of Ministers ideally be like?

[Miller] This government must, above all, lead and rule and not give orders. In society everyone must have an opportunity to display himself and his activeness. For a long time we tried to regulate the lives of Poles. I believe that the present government must just lead. Although—and I will not hide the fact—we would rather see a representative of the PZPR heading the government. But in either event we believe that this government must be supported, because its rapid fall in no way meets our interests. We do not accept the thesis "The worse for the government, the better for us." The people's interests are the party's chief interest. And the chief aim now is to tear ourselves away from the terrible abyss beside which we find ourselves.

Soviet, CSSR Leaders View Economic Coordination

PM2709104989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A working meeting of the chairmen of the national units of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation—B.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and J. Obzina, CSSR deputy premier—was held in Moscow 21 September.

The sides discussed progress in coordinating the USSR and CSSR state plans for 1991-1995, the fulfillment of mutual deliveries of goods in the current year, the preparation of a protocol on trade turnover and payments between the two countries for 1990, and the further direction of the work to improve the economic mechanism of cooperation between the fraternal countries.

Zaykov Receives Bulgarian Party Delegation

LD2609134989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City party committee, met today a delegation of the Sofia city committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], led by Panev, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the city party committee, which is in Moscow.

Those taking part in the conversation told each other of the processes of socialist renewal in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, and exchanged opinions on the prospects for the further expansion and deepening of interaction between the party organizations and labor collectives of the two capitals.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Meets With Norwegian Counterpart

LD2809102889 Moscow TASS in English 1008 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 28 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has met his Norwegian counterpart Thorvald Stoltenberg here to discuss European security, especially that of the European north.

The Norwegian minister confirmed his support for Soviet Murmansk initiatives and expressed the readiness to use talks, both on an inter-bloc and an all-European basis, to search for ways of their fulfilment.

Discussing the Vienna negotiations of 35 states, the Norway minister supported Shevardnadze's idea to separate the discussion of confidence-building measures, concerning the Navy and the Air Force, from other negotiations.

Both sides believe that a meeting of foreign ministers of the European countries, the United States and Canada, at the beginning of 1990, would help find solutions at the talks on conventional arms.

Both sides expressed their desire to develop and intensify Soviet-Norwegian relations.

Nishanov, Delegation Meet Rome's Spadolini

LD2809024389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Rome, 27 Sep (TASS)—The delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is on an official visit here, had a conversation this evening with Giovanni Spadolini, chairman of the Senate of the Italian parliament. The meeting took place in a spirit of mutual understanding and friendship.

The chairman of the Senate of the Italian parliament demonstrated great interest in the work of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and its role in resolving the nationalities problems facing the Soviet Union.

R.N. Nishanov said that USSR Supreme Soviet deputies today are undergoing schooling in parliamentarism in new historical conditions, and see in reform of the institutions of state power one of the most important ways of resolving existing problems and of achieving stability in society on a genuinely democratic basis. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies, and the first and second sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, he noted, are showing demonstratively the increased activeness of Soviet parliamentarians. It was also stressed that the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation has come to Italy with serious intentions to foster further deepening and broadening of the Soviet-Italian dialogue along the parliamentary line. All the committees and commissions of the freshly formed USSR Supreme Soviet are ready to get involved in it.

Major attention was devoted during the conversation to issues pertaining to the international situation. G. Spadolini expressed deep satisfaction at the results of the meeting of USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, and indicated the immense significance of the decision of both sides to get down to complete destruction of chemicl armament stocks. That step will make a large contribution to the cause of strengthening detente.

The Senate chairman went on to point out that Italy supports the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and is

aspiring for its part to produce in the international arena proposals directed at the development of the process of disarmament, at broadening of the East-West dialogue, including the aspect of realizing the concept of a common European home, and at reducing tension in individual regions of the world, notably the Middle East. Settlement of the situation in that part of the planet, stressed G. Spadolini, is impossible without the participation of the Soviet Union.

N.M. Lunkov, USSR ambassador in Italy, took part in the conversation.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Italy

PM2809140189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On Official Visit"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities, left Moscow for Rome 27 September on an official visit at the invitation of the Italian parliament.

On the same day the delegation arrived in Rome. It includes I.D. Laptev, chief editor of IZVESTIYA; K.Yu. Lavrov, chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Theatrical Workers; M.N. Rakhmanova, department chief of the Orenburg Medical Institute; A.P. Rubiks, chairman of the Riga City Soviet Executive Committee; and Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin.

In a statement for the press at Rome's Fiumicino International Airport, R.N. Nishanov noted that this is the first visit to Italy by representatives of the USSR's new supreme state organ. We have a large amount of work to do on Italian soil. The visit's program is very full: There will be meetings with the Italian leadership, with colleagues in the chamber of deputies and senate, and with representatives of local organs of power.

We know, the head of the delegation continued, that Italy is following with interest the processes of renewal developing in the USSR. That is why we will describe in detail to our Italian interlocutors the essence of the present stage of the perestroyka which is being carried out in the Soviet Union, the tasks facing the Soviet people in implementing political and economic reforms, the recent election campaign for the election of USSR people's deputies, and the results of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Perestroyka in the USSR is proceeding in all directions and it is also under way in the Supreme Soviet. That is why the great experience of work of the Italian legislators, parliamentary commissions, and organs of local self management are of exceptional interest to us.

We are also counting on a detailed talk with our colleagues on fundamental problems of the present day and we want to acquaint ourselves with the way in which Italian legislators assess present-day trends in the development of the international situation and how they see the role of parliamentarians in these processes. After all, it is no secret that the people's elected representatives have considerable potential in resolving many topical problems on the paths of peace and cooperation and they can actively promote the improvement of the atmosphere of interstate relations. The question of the development of Soviet-Italian parliamentary ties and their role in the multifaceted complex of relations between the USSR and Italy will be a separate point on the agenda of the forthcoming talks and meetings.

The delegation was met by Gerardo Bianco, deputy chairman of the Italian parliament's chamber of deputies, and other officials. N.M. Lunkov, USSR ambassador to Italy, was among the welcome party.

Belousov Receives Visiting West German Official

LD2809022589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1935 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Sep (TASS)—Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, had a meeting today with Bjoern Engholm, chairman of the FRG Bundesrat and Premier of Schleswig-Holstein, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Later the same day the visitor from the FRG gave a news conference.

FRG Defense Official Comments on USSR Visit

LD2809073189 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn September 27 TASS—West German Defence Ministry Secretary Willy Wimmer pointed to favourable prospects for relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union in all areas, including military, in a press conference on his return from a visit to the USSR.

Wimmer told newsmen about the agreement reached to exchange naval vessel visits.

In mid-October a group of West German naval vessels, including the "Lower Saxonia" frigate, the "Rommel" destroyer and supply vessel "Koburg" will visit Leningrad.

Wimmer said he is convinced that the 600-strong crew would come to the USSR as "messengers of confidence and peace".

Debate on German Reunification Issue Analyzed

LD2709130289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent V. Kondratyev]

[Text] In the FRG the debate on German reunification has intensified sharply.

[Kondratyev] This is a historic room at the Albert Koenig Zoological Museum in Bonn. There were meetings here 40 years ago, too, amid stuffed exotic animals. Of course the reasons for these meetings were different—the birth of a new state, the FRG, was taking place. Within these walls members of the parliamentary council, the fathers of the Constitution, with the Western allies' approval, took a separatist step. It was in response to this that the GDR was established.

Now, in the presence of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, a monumental work is being presented to the public—foreign poicy documents and acts by the government of Adenauer, a man who, in the opinion of many historians here, deliberately missed an opportunity to reunify the Western and Eastern occupation zones. However, this is not being mentioned during this solemn occasion. [video shows meeting with Genscher present]

I asked Hans Stercken, chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Policy Commission, a Christian Democratic Union [CDU] politician, what he thinks about the present debate on reunification.

[Begin Stercken recording in German with superimposed Russian translation] We know, he says, that there will not be and cannot be any national reforms in Europe which would not present a threat to the peaceful existence of its peoples. We are considering changing the quality of our policy but at the same time we are aware that all our affairs and possible changes can only come into being on the basis of mutual agreement. [video shows Stercken being interviewed] [end recording]

[Kondratyev] However, what if across the state border in the GDR they disagree with what FRG politicians have in mind? This does not stop the latter. The Federal Chancellor's Office considers that the dream of reunification has never been as close as it is now. By mid-October the CDU parliamentary faction intends to prepare a whole conception of German unity. The political changes in Poland and Hungary, national unrest in the USSR give officials in Bonn grounds for thinking that the time for resolute action has arrived. [video shows an aerial shot of a border area; jeep traveling on the far side of a wire fence; buildings; men in conference room; building with CDU sign on the roof]

It is reported that in its turn NATO wants to propose to the Warsaw Pact a plan to change the status quo on the continent, where in the end the solution to the German problem will appear on the agenda. Some people in the FRG are even predicting that the approaching 40th anniversary of the GDR might possibly be its last, while the most zealous in the conservative camp are calling for the restoration of all 1937 German borders, that is at the expense of Poland and the USSR. [video shows cover and pages of the STERN magazine]

A complex and important period is beginning in FRG politics. The question is clear: either a continuation of good-neighbourly dialogue aimed at overcoming the post-war split in the whole of Europe, for the benefit of human intercourse, or—which is already apparent in relations between the FRG and the GDR—the destabilization of a socialist state, insults against its leaders and calls for reforms in the GDR along the road of capitalist reforms and German reunification. The attempts to disregard the GDR in the reunification issue cannot but evoke a painful reaction in return. There is a real danger that the violation of historical development, which is currently being engaged in on the Rhine, instead of reunification may turn into an even greater division. [video shows Kondratyev on a street]

More Steps Toward Diplomatic Ties With Vatican

PM2809083889 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 22 Sep 89 p 13

[Domenico De Rio report: "Pope Examines Diplomatic Files on Broader Ties With Moscow"]

[Text] Vatican City—When Gorbachev emerges from his audience with the pope at the Vatican in November he could make two sensational announcements—an invitation for Pope Wojtyla to visit Russia and the first steps toward establishing diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Soviet Union.

Such a prospect is no mere fantasy. According to Vatican sources something happened last week that shows that relations between Moscow and the Vatican are steadily broadening their scope.

Bishop Angelo Sodano, secretary for relations with the states—a department of the Vatican secretariat of state—in practice, the "foreign minister," went to the Soviet Embassy in Rome to deliver a letter from the pope in reply to that sent by Gorbachev and handed to the pope 24 August at Castelgandolfo by Yuriy Karlov, a senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official. In his letter the Kremlin leader announced his willingness to "develop contacts with the Vatican."

Now on his visit to the Soviet Embassy, Sodano apparently gave Ambassador Lunkov to understand that the Vatican looks favorably on the possibility of starting to examine the prospects for real diplomatic relations with Moscow. It is a rather unexpected move, despite the good relations between the two sides that have been established for some time. Lunkov was apparently somewhat surprised, but will certainly convey the Vatican's "wish" to the Kremlin. In a couple of months' time the matter could be broached in conversation by the pope and Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

Greek Participation in Mars-94 Project Noted

LD2809032189 Moscow TASS in English 1951 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Athens September 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Sysoyev:

The USSR Academy of Sciences institute of space research and the Crete research centre signed a memorandum on Greece's participation in the international Mars-94 space project, in Athens today.

The document provides for the development by Greek scientists of the models of electronic devices to study the chemical composition of Mars' surface.

"This will be the first international space project for Greece," Professor E. Ekonomu, director of the Crete research centre, told TASS. "I hope that we will not disappoint our Soviet colleagues. The very fact of participation in such a prestigious project is extremely important for such a small country like Greece, and we hope that our cooperation in this field will continue to develop."

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze Confers With Venezuelan President

LD2809103189 Moscow TASS in English 1022 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 28 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze met Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez here.

During a congenial meeting both sides noted with satisfaction that Soviet and Venezuelan positions on a broad range of international issues are identical or similar. The issues include those on strengthening peace and international security, establishing civilised relations between states and improving international economic relations.

They pointed to the need for vigorous and consistent efforts to tackle the problem of economic backwardness, foreign debts and to combat illegal drug trafficking.

While discussing international issues, the sides resolutely favoured the earliest possible normalisation of the Central American situation and the strict observance of understandings reached by countries in that region.

When examining questions of Soviet-Venezuelan relations, they expressed readiness to deepen the political dialogue and strengthen mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic and other spheres.

The meeting was attended by Venezuelan Foreign Minister Reinaldo Figueredo Planchart.

Supreme Soviet Session

Supreme Soviet Committees, Commissions Meet 27 Sep

Work of Committees, Commissions Viewed

LD2709210289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 27 September broadcasts a 25-minute program presented by Igor Zorin on the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions.

Igor Zorin reports that the draft state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR and the country's state budget to the year 1990 were discussed. Stepan Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of USSR gosplan, delivers the main report to the Commission of the Soviet of the Union for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy. The main topic of the report is social development and improving people's standard of living. After Sitaryan's speech Deputy Yaroshenko takes the floor. Yaroshenko says: "The government has recently insisted on draconian measures to limit the growth of earnings. A very steep tax was introduced after earnings grew by more than 3 percent. Let us remember this figure-3 percent. Meanwhile, inflation by our calculations is not less than 7 percent. Also, according to the plan, R43.5 billion in taxes is to be taken from the people next year. That is, the growth in personal taxation is 7.4 percent. There is another R10 billion in turnover tax, with an insignificant growth in trade turnover as well. That is, these are the deductions from the population, while the growth in earnings is only 3 percent."

Yaroshenko then asks whether this means the government has completely lost control of the economic situation in the country and whether it means that Gosplan is planning an abrupt reduction in the population's standard of living.

Sitaryan answers. He says that the figures given by Yaroshenko demand some elaboration. Sitaryan maintains that the inflation rate is nearer to 3-4 percewnt. He says that the growth in income tax is a result of the growth in the population's income and that the growth in turnover tax is the result of a growth in the production of those goods which are most heavily taxed.

Professor Zhuravlev, a Belorussian economist, criticizes the plan. He says that no plan will save Soviet society and that a new plan is needed; emergency measures for stabilizing the economy. Price and monetary reforms need to be considered. He proposes that a new progressive tax be introduced to help the 43 million people who, it has been stated, are living below the poverty line.

Nikolay Vasijevich Bosenko, chairman of the Committee on Veterans and Invalids, also criticizes the plan because it does not sufficiently take account of social needs.

Zorin reports that the Commission on Planning, Budget, and Finance was also at work today. Anisimov, a representative of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, spoke and then answered a question about the supply of consumer goods.

Agricultural Issues Debated

LD2709215389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Video report by V. Golubev from the 27 September USSR Supreme Soviet committee session in the Kremlin in Moscow, with interview with A.M. Yemelyanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Agrarian Issues and Food—recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Golubev] The Committee on Agrarian Issues and Food.

Nikitin, chairan of the State committee for Food and Purchases of the USSR Council of Ministers, started his report on the plan for developing the country's agro-ndustrial complex in 1990 with an analysis of the extent of the country's provision with foodstuffs [video shows Nikitin addressing the committee] Last year, R138 billion worth of foodstuffs were supplied. The plan for this year calls for R151 billion, but today it is already obvious that the food shortage will reach R6 billion, Nikitin noted. For next year, deliveries have been set at R150 billion, 16 percent of this through imports; that is to say, one day a week we will be eating foreign grub.

The plan has been drawn up entirely from the republics' proposals. The strategy of the center is not to hinder the peasant. This seems all well and good, but, as the state commission chairman noted, today we are unable to assess the extent of the plan's provision with material and technical resources, even though priority here, given substantial saving in other industries, is given to the agrarian-industrial complex.

On these problems a discussion developed following the address by Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee Paskar. [video shows Paskar addressing the committee] The deputies especially stressed the obvious blunders in scheduling fuel supplies [v planirovanii goryuchego] during the harvest, which have become a bad norm and are leading to huge losses of food. We are in unable to escape the vicious circle: We sell oil for foreign currency, restricting ourselves, and we spend this foreign currency on the food which we lost. And the new plan, Paskar noted, is unbalanced regarding many parameters.

[Begin recording] [Yemelyanov] "The plan for the agro-industrial complex, as well as the plan for the national economy as a whole for the year 1990—and this is the last year of the 5-year plan period, by the way, one must not forget—addresses all the difficulties, all the problems of the current period, which is so complicated and contradictory.

One is amazed at the position of Gosplan [State Planning Committee] when they say that they have just taken and compiled what comes up from below. But, then, the members of our committee logically asked, what is the point of having a Gosplan at all if all it does is take the figures and technically rearrange them, knowing that these figures are unreal? As a rule, the resource back-up is not being sustained for the 5-year plan, and it lags considerably behind in sustaining the targets set for the increase in foodstuffs and for the growth of agricultural produce. Here, the members of our committee asked some very sharp questions of the leadership.

[Golubev] Are there any radical thoughts on this matter, any radical proposals?

[Yemelyanov] Any radical thoughts? The first thought is, of course, let a very modest plan be set out, perhaps two or three percent, not eight percent, but it should be realistic. That is the first thing. Second, it is necessary once again to give the leadership a proper shake-up, and I use that world, so that if a plan is laid down it should be sustained by the resource back-up.

In just one year, in 1990, we canot get out of the present state of crisis, but we could at least outline ways of getting out of this crisis in order subsequently to move in a positive direction and consolidate the following 5-year plan and, finally, not disgrace ourselves before the world but, as they say, give our people something to eat and balance the market. [end recording]

Sitoryan Discusses Subsistence Wages

LD2709210189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 27 September broadcasts a 1-hour program called "In the USSR Supreme Soviet." The first 20 minutes are unmonitorable. The program consists of a series of reports on events in the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions sessions on 27 September.

A report on the meeting of the Commission of the Soviet of the Union for Labor, prices, and social Policy includes excerpts from a speech by S.A. Sitoryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan. Asked by one of the participants what the subsistence wage would be in 1990, Sitoryan replies: "Approximatley 43 million people are living beyond the subsistence level, below that line. The second point is the most complicated and important one in the economic respect: What is the level of that substence wage? At the moment we calculate it to be R78 [per person per month]. Where people are getting less than R78 we nominally consider them, to use the terminology already accepted, to be below the poverty line. There are various assessments of this figure. In some republics, for example—in Estonia, I believe, unless I am mistaken—they have officially stated it to be R120. Our economists have done calculations and come up with estimates that also place the figure higher, but of course it obviously has to be defined precisely, with due consideration for the inflation rate. However, there are two things that should be pointed out. We in the State Committee for Labor are now going to include the concept of subsistence wages in the statistics; it will be defined for separate groups of the population. And a record wil be kept of what is known as a basket."

As members of the commission leave the hall the correspondent asks for their views on Sitaryan's performance. The majority are dissatisfied, including one unidentifed woman who accuses him of delivering the report "in the style of the good old stagnation times, evading everything and giving no concrete answers." She adds that in her view the plan for socio-economic development in 1990 will not be endorsed by the deputies "or if it is, with a very large proportion voting against or abstaining."

The final interviewee, a smiling unidentified Army officer sporting numerous awards who said he has been a Supreme Soviet member for 24 years, remarks that Sitoryan's report was "very objective, a report of great erudition and competence, and, most importantly, a truthful one."

Vienna Accords Discussed

LD2709170689 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The early implementation of the Vienna agreements accords both with the international and domestic political interests of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet's Foreign Affairs Committee was told today.

The committee discussed the implementation of the agreements in humanitarian area, laid down in the final document of the Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE countries.

Alexander Dzasokhov, the committee's acting chairman, said the Supreme Soviet would, together with the executive bodies, launch legislation in this area.

Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin, invited to attend the committee session, said the question of human rights is of special importance in the period of restructuring. A state's readiness to abide by international rules, including in such a sensitive area as human rights, is a measure of its credibility. Without this readiness, no stable detente or breakthrough in disarmament or economic cooperation is possible.

Adamishin said the provisions of the Vienna final document on the rights of ethnic minorities were accommodated in the party platform on the ethnic question, approved by the September plenary meeting of the Central Committee. The provisions will also be reflected in the relevant draft laws being prepared by the Soviet parliament.

The committee pointed to the importance of an early passage of the laws which would, on the one hand,

strengthen the legal foundation of the Soviet state and, on the other, spell out corresponding international commitments of the USSR.

One of these laws would regulate leaving and entering the USSR, whose draft has already been worked out. It lays down, among other things, the right of every Soviet citizen to freely leave his country.

Citizens possessing information regarded as a state secret will be able to leave only upon passage of a certain period of time which must not exceed five years.

Draft laws on freedom of conscience, on religious organisations and the press have also been prepared. Incidentally, the latter will be discussed by the parliamentary committee on legislation, legality and rule of law on Thursday.

News Briefing Notes Human Rights Progress

LD2709181189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Sep (TASS)—The realization of agreements in the humanitarian sphere has been put into practice in the USSR. The first positive results have been achieved, but less has been done than is possible to achieve in this sphere, said Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, speaking today at a press conference organized by the press center of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Together with Fedor Burlatskiy, chairman of the Subcommittee on Humanitarian Matters and Scientific and Cultural Contacts of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs, Adamishin informed journalists of the results of today's session of that committee. The course of implementation by the Soviet Union of the humanitarian provisions in the final document of the Vienna meeting was examined at the sitting.

Anatoliy Adamishin remarked that the Soviet Union was the first of the participating states to fulfill the obligation of publishing the final document of the Vienna meeting, and has examined in the time period established in the document all applications for exit from the country, on which decisions were not taken previously. Thus, after the signing of the Vienna documents, 1,855 cases of so-called "refuseniks" were examined. Out of those, 1,556 applications or 84 percent were satisfied. Provisionally, according to state security considerations, refusals to grant exit were made in 299 cases.

The deputy minister reported a considerable increase in the number of people leaving for permanent residence abroad; there were 108,000 in 1988 compared with only 2,500 in 1985. The USSR has recognized the jurisdiction of the UN International Court as binding, has adhered to the Vienna convention on consular relations, and has adopted new rules regulating the activity of foreign journalists in the USSR.

In accordance with the spirit of the Vienna accords, said Adamishin, information and cultural centers of foreign countries are being set up in the USSR, the attitude to non-governmental organizations for the defense of rights has been changed, and new religious communities are being registered.

In the opinion of members of the Committee on International Affairs, said Fedor Burlatskiy, there are still unresolved problems in the humanitarian sphere. In particular, the adoption of the draft law on human rights is being delayed and the draft law on the press intended for confirmation at the present session of the Supreme Soviet is half-hearted. Serious demands are also being made of the draft law on entering and leaving the country. Fedor Burlatskiy noted that the committee is beginning serious practical work on preparing the drafts of several laws connected with humanitarian questions, taking account of the criticisms expressed at the session.

Religious Freedom Bill on Agenda

AU2709153889 Paris AFP in English 1445 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, Sept 27 (AFP)—The Soviet parliament is to consider legalizing the Ukrainian Catholic Church, banned by Stalin in 1946, in a bill on freedom of conscience and religion, Soviet deputy Fyodor Burlatskiy said here Wednesday.

The legalization of the Uniate Church was discussed at a meeting Wednesday of the Supreme Soviet's International Affairs sub-committee on humanitarian matters, Mr. Burlatsky, the sub-committee chairman, told a press briefing.

The legalization would come about through ratification of a freedom of conscience and religion bill, in process of being drafted, and which would not be discussed by parliament before next year, Mr. Burlatsky said.

However, the Russian Orthodox Church still opposed the legalizing of the Uniate church on "religious, social and political" grounds, as one of its representatives made it clear when he addressed Wednesday's sub-committee meeting, the chairman added.

But "all denominations must have equal rights and opportunities under the law," Mr. Burlatski said.

There are an estimated four million Catholic Uniates in the Soviet Union.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to meet Pope John Paul II in November during an official visit to Rome, and the legalizing of the Uniate Church, which owes allegiance to the Church of Rome, is likely to be one of the topics discussed.

Draft Law on Self-Government Discussed

LD2809050189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1841 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 27 Sep (TASS)—The drafts of the USSR state plan for economic and social development and of the country's state budget for 1990 were discussed today at sessions of the commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

Political decisions have run ahead of economic ones—that is the view of many people's deputies when they describe the causes that are putting a break on restructuring. This view could be clearly glimsped in the course of discussion of the country's plan and budget for 1990 by members of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies, Development of Government and Self-Government.

The committee considered the draft law "On general principles of local self-government and local economy in the USSR," presented by the Council of Ministers. It did not satisfy the people's deputies since, in their words, the draft law is not linked to other very important draft laws, including the ones on ownership, land and state enterprises. People's deputies have already made many amendments to it, above all of a conceptual nature. In essence, it is an alternative draft, in which numerous wishes and proposals from the localities are taken into account.

Gosplan Official on Developing 1990 Plan

LD2709125389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Today participants in the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet are working in commissions and committees. Thus, the Commission on Planning, Budget, and Finance of the Soviet of the Union is sitting in the session hall of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers. The most important general economic indices and proportions of the USSR's national economy according to the plan for next year are being discussed here. The Commission on Issues of Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts, and Okrugs of the Soviet of Nationalities is working in the RSFSR House of Soviets. The discussion here is about the indices of socioeconomic development in the union republics, Moscow, Leningrad, and also Moscow and Leningrad oblasts, within a unified national economic complex for 1990.

The Committee on Agrarian Issues and Food of the USSR Supreme Soviet is analyzing the basic indices, balance, proportions, and priorities of the 1990 state plan for the development of the agroindustrial complex.

Other parliamentary committees and commissions are working, too. They include the Commission on Issues of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy of the Soviet of the Union. A report was delivered here by Stepan Aramaisovich Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of USSR Gosplan and a well-known Soviet economic scientist.

[Begin Sitaryan recording] An extremely complicated task was faced in developing the draft plan for 1990. On the one hand, we could not avoid taking into account and reckoning with the fact that there is increasing social tension in society, heightened and justified demands by people for an improvement in living conditions, and the need to normalize the consumer market, to curb the processes of inflation, and to develop all branches of the national economy, above all the socio-cultural sphere.

On the other hand, we found ourselves—and still do—under conditions of increasing limitations in resources. In a generalized form, this phenomenon is reflected in a decrease in the mass of national income as compared with the 5-year plan targets; in other words, the resources by means of which any society derives the means for its own development and for a growth in consumption, in production, and in non-production construction. In the draft plan this sum is determined as R643.2 billion or R42 billion less than was planned in the 5-year plan.

Under these conditions, two options for development are possible.

The first option: In accordance with this decrease, all the indices of national economic development are reduced, in particular the indices for the development of the social sphere which were set out in the 5-year plan. The second option: Taking into account the urgency of these problems given the restricted resources, the social sphere is given priority, and it is possible to accomplish this task by only one means—redistributing funds from the national income in favor of social development to a greater extent than was envisaged in the 5-year plan.

Taking the general situation and all the general problems into account, Gosplan took precisely this latter path. Given the limited resources of national income, resources for current consumption and non-production construction—in other words those resources which are mainly directed toward improving people's life—have been increased by 6.5 percent compared with last year, and amount to R553.3 billion.

At the same time, the expanded reproduction capital, in other words the resources which go toward the development of industry and other material production branches, have been reduced from R152.5 billion to R89.9 billion as compared with the 5-year plan; or a reduction of 11.4 percent from the 5-year plan. [end recording]

[Announcer] The work in the commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet continues.

Consumer Goods Output To Be Focus

LD2709195489 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The plan, budget and finance commission and other Supreme Soviet's permanent bodies dealing with economic questions discussed the draft state plan of the USSR for 1990.

Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) of the USSR Leonard Vid explained the main components of the draft. He said, among other things, that priority had been given to the social sphere and the need to increase the output of consumer goods. But the vast programme cannot be implemented without prejudice to other sectors.

Vid reminded the audience that on the whole the draft plan provides for a sharp—by 6.7 per cent—increase in the output of consumer goods, with a more than modest (an average 0.5 per cent) growth in the production of capital goods. In some of the sectors these figures differ by a still wider margin. Thus, in the defence industries the production of capital goods is cut down by 7 per cent while the output of consumer goods will be p 21.4 per cent.

Vid took more than two hours to answer deputies' questions about the most diverse aspects of the government-sponsored draft. The deputies wished to get a clear idea of how the government intends to ensure the implementation of such a vast programme in the complex conditions prevailing in Soviet economy.

By far not all of Vid's answers satisfied the deputies. Thus, scientist from Siberia Gennadiy Filshin thought it is difficult to believe the reality of the picture painted by the Gosplan official since the practice of even a few of the past years indicates that some of the state assignments in the social sphere are not being implemented.

"This plan will not, of course, resolve all the problems in economy", Chairman of the Commission Viktor Kucherenko said in an interview with the TASS correspondent. "But essentially it aims at stabilizing the economic situation. At present our task is to get from the draft's sponsors convincing arguments in favour of its reality and the availability of requisite material, financial and labour resources. [no end quotes as received]

Grishchenko on 1990 Plan, Budget

LD2709200289 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—By TASS news analyst Boris Grishchenko:

The draft state plan and budget for the next year, the discussion of which was started in commissions and committees of Soviet parliament today, immediately evoked an acute debate among deputies.

Leaders of the USSR State Planning Committee and of the Ministry of Finance who submitted these documents declare that they exerted efforts to the utmost to make Soviet economy consumer-oriented.

Special attention was given to the development of the production of consumer goods and food products with which the domestic market is poorely supplied.

Material and financial resources are concentrated on the construction of housing and social facilities. With an acute shortage of funds and resources, they are being drawn for these purposes from virtually all other areas of production, including the defence complex.

Nevertheless, many deputies believe that generalised provisions of the draft plan and budget do not indicate clearly the purpose of the measures planned. Deputies are striving to remedy this drawback by specific proposals.

One of the proposals made in the Commission on Labour, Prices and Social Policy of the Council of the Union envisages the inclusion in the plan and budget of special sections about extraordinary measures to overcome the economic crisis.

A group of deputies emphasized the need to overcome the diktat of giant enterprises which assumed monopoly in the Soviet market. The lack of stimulating competition is a hindrance to the policy of prices that would be in the interests of millions of people with low and medium incomes, to the improvement of quality of products.

There was a proposal about partial denationalization of a number of areas of the economy. Much hope is pinned on the issuing of shares which will be put on the market of securities next year.

A large number of proposals is connected with redistribution of budgetary funds. It was noted, for instance that still more funds should be allocated for the health services, culture and welfare.

There was a suggestion to formulate a country-wide programme of fighting poverty.

Deputies regard it their duty to ease the situation of the poorer sections of the population. Millions of pensions, sick and lonely people should not suffer because of a high cost of living, deputies believe.

Although the debate is conducted in an acute, at times emotional form, the commission's chairman Nikolay Gritsenko is of the opinion that deputies have not lost touch, that parliament and government conduct a dialogue with the purpose of improving the situation of Soviet people as much as possible as early as next year.

Pavlov's 25 Sep Report on State Budget Published

PM2709101789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Sep 89 Morning Edition pp 4-6

[Report delivered by USSR Minister of Finance V.S. Pavlov at 25 September afternoon sitting of USSR Supreme Soviet: "On the USSR State Budget for 1990 and the Implementation of the 1988 Budget"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies!

The draft USSR State Budget for 1990 is being submitted for your examination.

The government attaches exceptional importance to the new budget. The financial program embodied in it is aimed at a decisive turn toward an improvement in the health of the economy, which is in an extremely serious condition, toward overcoming the crisis in the financial sphere. It contains radical measures which it is proposed to take in order to eliminate the budget deficit in the next few years and lay a firm financial foundation for implementing the most important tasks of the country's long-term socioeconomic development.

This is all the more important in view of the fact that, as the administrative edict system is dismantled, the USSR State Budget, as the country's main financial plan, will become one of the main means of management and, naturally, all the complexities and problems of our social development leave their imprint on the budget and are encapsulated therein. Therefore, when elaborating the draft budget for 1990, we took into account primarily the present state of the economy, finances, and money circulation and the tasks of normalizing them.

In practice we have already begun to act in this direction. Major steps have been taken to ease the strain in the country's financial and economic situation. Preliminary data on the implementation of the USSR State Budget for 1988 give grounds to claim that, as a result of the measures that have been taken, financial recovery in a number of the national economy's sectors will be ensured and the budget situation as a whole will improve. The budget deficit will be reduced by R29 billion from the figure approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet and will be R92 billion.

The reduction of the deficit is to be secured through additional revenues from turnover tax, taxation of the population, foreign trade revenues, and social insurance contributions by enterprises. Budget expenditures have been reduced, primarily spending on state investments and defense. As a result, it has become possible to cover the shortfalls in payments from profits in a series of sectors and the cost of the defense industry's conversion. And—an especially important point—to fully finance everything planned by the social program.

The results would have been much weightier had it not been for unforeseen losses associated with the elimination [of the consequences] of natural disasters which struck many of the country's regions. The total amount of these losses is set at R7-8 billion.

Additional strain was caused in the economy and in money circulation by strikes. It must be frankly said that so far we have not found any real sources to compensate for them. Clearly, it will be necessary to take additional measures to increase revenues and reduce expenditures. We are convinced that many social demands are justified. But the economic situation is such that matters cannot be taken as far as halting production. There are no uncommitted resources, and they cannot be found anywhere. Losses of output do not help accelerate the solution of the social and economic problems which in most cases underlie the conflicts; they only reduce the material and financial resources needed for this purpose. Questions must be primarily solved through additional production of output, mobilization of internal sources of accumulations, reduction of losses, and strengthening of discipline.

The emerging process of advance toward financial recovery is gathering pace, but so far it has not—and in such a short time could not have—resulted in any qualitative changes. Reality is such that we have been forced to formulate the draft of next year's budget in conditions of the serious deformation of all financial links, be they state, sectorial, or regional.

By the end of this year, the internal state debt will reach R400 billion. Money circulation remains in an exceptionally grave condition. The population's above-plan money income after tax is estimated at R44 billion for this year, whereas the sale of goods and provision of paid services are estimated at R4 billion. As a result the above-plan amounts of money left in the population's hands will increase. Money emission will amount to R18 billion, in other words, 1.5 times more than last year. It will be accompanied by a decline in the ruble's purchasing power and growing shortages of an increasingly broad range of goods and services. This is what predetermined the orientation of budget projections. The budget proposes consistently pursuing a policy of intensifying its social orientation and imparting stability to the positive changes.

Specific Features of the USSR State Budget for 1990

Comrade Deputies! Allow me to outline the new approaches toward financial policy and to dwell on the fundamental provisions of the draft USSR State Budget for 1990.

The new budget reflects the two strategic directions of the proposed financial policy: Curbing inflation and strengthening the ruble, and increasing investments for social needs. Proceeding from this premise, it is planned to ensure faster growth of expenditure earmarked for satisfying the population's material, social, and cultural

requirements compared with expenditure on the development of production. This will create effective incentives for highly productive labor and will make it possible to switch more quickly to economic methods for the management of development in socialist market conditions.

The implementation of the set tasks demands effective measures to strengthen economic accountability, to expand cost recovery and self-financing, to reduce losses due to economic mismanagement, and to reduce the time taken to recoup expenditure. First among the criteria which determine the priorities of financial policy is an increase in the return on every budget ruble. This policy is consistently pursued in all sections of the draft budget's income and expenditure.

The draft USSR State Budget for 1990 is formulated on the basis of revenues of R428.2 billion, which is R54.2 billion more than the sum approved for the current year. Expenditure has been set at R488.2 billion, this being R6.6 billion less than approved for this year. As you can see, we have here much faster revenue growth, without counting borrowings, and a reduction in expenditures—something which has not happened for more than 20 years now. Consequently, it has become possible to plan a budget deficit which is only one-half that approved for 1989, and this is of fundamental economic and sociopolitical importance.

It is important to note that the state budget is divided into a current budget and a development budget.

The current budget brings together all expenditure stemming from current norms and the prevailing level of social security. It has been fully balanced through the growth of money accumulations and payments made by the population accumulated in the budget.

The development budget brings together spending associated with the requirements of expanded reproduction and the centralized financing of new socioeconomic measures. Analysis of the component parts of the development budget provides an opportunity to take a more considered and cautious approach toward our state's additional new expenditure. The principle that must be consistently implemented here is that of financing expenditure strictly within the limits of the actually received sources of income, both our own and borrowings. We believe that the envisaged expenditure in this budget should not be mandatory but should be regarded as an upper limit, the intention being that if it proves possible to obtain more income in the course of budget implementation, it will be necessary to reduce expenditure.

In the meantime it is proposed to cover the existing shortfall of R60 billion in budget resources for financing planned expenditure by issuing a state national economic development loan. It could be issued by the union government and the republic governments and be placed on a commercial basis among enterprises, cooperatives, and financial and credit institutions. We are thus moving away from the essentially free inclusion of loan funds in budget revenue. This in turn is an important element in the normalization of credit.

The next feature of the budget is the utilization of resources primarily to boost the social sphere and finance urgent social programs. This orientation will make it possible to increase the share of national income resources used for consumption and nonproduction construction from 83.7 percent this year to 86 percent.

Finally, we are proposing to make an emphatic reduction in budget investments in the sphere of material production, the intention being to fully realize the potential for transferring this expenditure to a position whereby it is funded from the earnings of enterprises and regions. In this way a major step along the road of further deepening the reform is being taken.

The budget reflects the increase in the union republics' role in economic and cultural building and contains new approaches toward the formation of their financial base which are connected with finalizing the principles of territorial self-management and self-financing.

Strengthening the Income Base of the State Budget

Comrade Deputies! One of the serious miscalculations in the financial policy of former years which led to imbalance in state finances was the now obvious fact that monetary funds were increasingly formed in isolation from the development of production. There was no increase in real social wealth as a result of this. The country ended up with shortages and inflation.

A matter of prime importance in the normalization of finances must be the restoration of their unbreakable link with material production and an increase in the real purchasing power of the ruble. These aims are served by the measures envisaged in the plan and the budget to rectify the existing major national economic disproportions, among which the imbalance between consumer supply and demand is particularly intolerable. The draft proposes combining the solution of the task of reducing shortages and strengthening the ruble with an increase in incentives for improving economic management efficiency.

To this end it is planned to build financial relations in the national economy in a new way. In view of the expansion of enterprises' rights in determining their production and financial program the formation of the budget's income base takes on the pronounced nature of a forecast. Therefore the emphasis in mobilizing income is placed not on orders but on making fuller use of the system of economic levers and incentives ensuring the organic combination of the state's centralized requirements with the interests of economically accountable activity.

This line can be seen particularly clearly in the new structure of payments from profits. The possible profits in the national economy as a whole are estimated at

R258.3 billion in 1990, an increase of R17.8 billion. At the same time payments from profits into the budget will increase by only R1.4 billion by comparison with the ratified plan for the current year, in other words, 90 percent of the growth in profits (and in agriculture virtually the entire growth) remains within the economy, which in practice signifies a further increase in the economically accountable orientation of profits and a strengthening of their link with the system of economic incentives. Almost half of total profits will go to increase enterprise funds. This means, above all, implementing the principled provision that the budget deficit decreases not by draining but by strengthening the finances of enterprises and sectors.

In considerably increasing the profits left at enterprises' disposal, we link this with the expansion of the financial benefits interesting them in the growth of money accumulations, the fulfillment of the state order, and the increase of consumer goods production. We believe that such a system will work better both for the budget's interests and for collectives' interests. Of course, the return will fully show in subsequent years. But the foundation must be laid now.

Profits, whose plan indicators enterprises draw up independently, become the main source for the economic and social development of labor collectives. Over 50 percent of the planned increase in profits in industry must be obtained by reducing costs. This is very tricky and requires additional influence via economic methods. To this end it is planned to maintain for 1990 enterprises' right to retain for their own disposal up to 70 percent of the profits made in excess of the 5-year plan calculations, the benefits for fulfillment of the state order, and a number of others amounting to a total of R7 billion. Along with financial incentives the plan and the budget envisage using prices to influence costs. As of next year it is proposed to introduced tariffs for freight shipments that are based on new principles, to cease providing incentives for tonne-kilometers and wholesale prices for diesel fuel without changing the existing economic normatives. [Sentence as published] We calculate that this will ensure a saving of around R3 billion in the national economy.

A more rapid increase in profits and a normalization of sectors' finances on this basis are being held up by the large scale of lossmaking. The situation in this sphere is changing only slowly. Some 7-8 percent of enterprises are continuing to work at a loss. At the same time actual lossmaking is frequently veiled behind various kinds of accounting prices and individual markups. Mindful of all the negative consequences of such management, we believe that we should act more resolutely to suppress lossmaking as a phenomenon which is radically at variance with the principles of economic accountability. This question is so urgent that it is necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle against this phenomenon using all measures. The process of liquidating chronically lossmaking enterprises and selling off their property should be accelerated. The resultant sums should be used to fund urgent expenditure of statewide and regional significance. Such a measure fully meets the interests of enterprises which work well. Today many labor collectives are already refusing to transfer their funds in order to maintain unprofitable economic facilities.

The positions of turnover tax in the budget's revenue are being substantially strengthened in 1990, and at the same time its link with the system of economic production incentives is being stepped up.

On the basis of the faster growth rate in the output of group "B" industry and the fuller saturation of the consumer market with goods and services, turnover tax receipts will exceed this year's approved plan by R17.1 billion and will total R121.9 billion. As a result, the tendency for turnover tax to fall in the budget revenue is being overcome for the first time in recent years. Next year its share will amount to 28.5 percent. A considerable increase in turnover tax will be ensured by increasing production of cultural, everyday, and household goods. Receipts from wine and vodka products in the budget revenue are being stabilized and are set at this year's level—R40.7 billion.

To improve the state of affairs in the consumer market and increase budget revenue, the fact that the conversion of defense sectors of industry will begin to produce a real return will be an important factor. Their readjustment will cost R4 billion. At the same time the defense industry must produce consumer goods worth R10 billion already in 1990, or 30 percent more than this year.

A real incentive for enterprises to increase production of goods is to be the fact that they will be allowed to dispose for these purposes of 30 percent of the increase in turnover tax on the increase in production, as well as being able to channel 50 percent of the turnover tax on additional production of goods into repaying credit obtained for these purposes.

The strengthening of the role played by turnover tax in state budget revenue is of great importance also for the self-financing of territories. Around 70 percent of all planned turnover tax revenue and 50 percent of above-plan turnover tax revenue will be retained in republic and local budgets.

The cooperative movement's impact on the country's economic life is becoming more and more tangible. In 1990 the volume of goods and services produced by cooperatives will exceed R30 billion. Income tax from cooperatives is set in the budget at R1.5 billion.

Construction, design, and other cooperatives which ensure efficient work at state prices and tariffs and cooperatives which produce consumer goods and provide consumer services for the population, thus making a real contribution to economic turnover, deserve every support. However, unfortunately, many cooperatives are switching to operating as middlemen, resell state goods resources at higher prices, and exploit for personal gain

the price differences maintained by the state in order to preserve the level of retail prices.

At the last USSR Supreme Soviet session a decision on regulating the taxation of cooperatives was adopted. It creates a stable legal and economic basis for their work and channels their activities into spheres directly connected with satisfying the population's needs for goods and services. At the same time the receipts from cooperatives envisaged in local budget revenue create a basis for healthy mutual understanding.

In 1990 the revenue base of the state social insurance budget will be considerably strengthened. It will be increased by R13.4 billion, including R8.9 billion from higher social insurance deductions in order to finance measures to improve pensions.

The financial situation in foreign economic activity continues o deteriorate, and this is eroding the revenue base of the budget and seriously weakening our efforts to eliminate the budget deficit. In 1990 we will be a further R2.6 billion of revenue short of the figure approved for the current year. Receipts are to total R58 billion. The share of these receipts has sunk to the lowest level in recent years and will constitute around 14 percent of budget revenue. The foreign debt will also increase. The size of the foreign debt has reached a point beyond which it begins to increase even without new loans, merely because of the increasing cost of servicing the debt. As early as 1990, almost the entire revenue from fuel and energy complex exports will be needed to cover the repayment of debts and interest.

We cannot regard this situation as satisfactory. In conditions of the broad democratization of foreign economic ties, USSR ministries and departments and union republic Council of Ministers must get down in real earnest to improving the structure of our exports and imports and ensure their foreign currency cost recovery and financial advantageousness. It will also be necessary to increase financial influence on enhancing the foreign currency and financial effectiveness of foreign economic activities. We believe that it is necessary to activate exchange rate policy, bearing in mind that it must become more realistic and flexible. It is necessary swiftly to discard the artificial "subsidizing" of exporting enterprises by means of budget injections to even up price differences (between domestic and world prices). This will promote the development of commercial initiative, enhance the responsibility of those who enter the foreign market, and shield our budget from losses.

Now about budget revenue from taxation of the population. In 1990 state taxes will generate R43.5 billion, or R7.2 billion more than approved for this year. They will account for 10.2 percent of total budget resources. This is connected with the substantial growth in labor remuneration funds, which, unfortunately, has recently often been uncontrollable and considerably outstrips growth in the production of material wealth in the form of goods and services.

In the 1st 4 years of the 5-year period, the population's money income will grow by 30.8 percent or by an average of 6.9 percent per year, which is 1.5-2 times higher than the rate of growth in national income. As a result of this, the extent to which the ruble is backed up by commodities is now the lowest it has been for some years.

Money incomes will increase by 8.7 percent next year. The most vigorous measures are being taken to ensure constant growth in effective demand. Retail trade turnover must increase by R40 billion over the anticipated level for this year—an increase of 10.1 percent. This is a very hard target to meet. We have never before had such a large increase in the output and sale of goods in just 1 year. This is not enough, however.

According to the calculations of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] and USSR Ministry of Finance, emission of money in 1990 could reach R10 billion, though that would be half what it is now. In order to achieve a reduction in emission in the course of fulfilling the plan and budget, the efforts of central, republican, and local organs and labor collectives to improve the situation in the market must be stepped up greatly. The rational use of all instruments of commodity-money relations, including tax methods, is called upon to check the work of the printing press. A resolution on the taxation of the labor remuneration fund at enterprises was adopted at the previous USSR Supreme Soviet session in this connection. The revenue from this tax is expected to reach R3 billion in 1990. This is, of course, a temporary measure prompted by the emergency situation in monetary circulation. It is necessary while social production is being structurally reoriented to satisfy consumer demand. On the basis of these tasks, any growth in the labor remuneration fund that is connected with increased output of goods for the population and a number of other priority national economic tasks is totally exempt from tax.

In addition to this, the government has also submitted for your consideration a draft USSR Law on a Unified Tax System which envisages the introduction of progressive income tax on citizens' personal income. I would like to point out that the above draft does not pursue any fiscal interests and has a pronounced social slant. It is proposed to introduce progressive taxation, starting with earnings in excess of R700 per month. At the same time, the tax threshold is being raised to R80 per month and concessionary taxation is being introduced for earnings of less than R100. This will affect more than 9 million people and the total revenue from income tax will even show a slight drop.

The measures outlined in the plan and budget to improve commodity supply to meet consumer demand and the new taxation policy are part of the state program to improve monetary circulation in the country.

The imbalance in monetary circulation is connected with distortions in labor remuneration which have created

additional socially and economically unjustified pressure on the consumer market, and with rising prices coupled with a reduction in the physical volume of output of many goods.

Additional measures are required, and the situation is such that they must be emergency measures.

There are now economically unjustified differences in the growth in wages of different categories of working people, and bonus funds are being swelled through prices. There are many instances of good ideas and initiatives being directly discredited. For example, in planning, planning and design, and scientific organizations wages increased 1.5 times last year and are continuing to rise at virtually the same rate this year, while the national economy has seen no real growth in efficiency. The USSR People's Control Committee has brought to light widespread cases of the award of bonuses of 30, 50, and even more than 90 official salaries over the course of the year.

Attempts are also being made to turn some newly established voluntary associations of enterprises into a money-maker. They are often set up with the sole aim of increasing the wages of management personnel behind the back of the labor collectives. A typical example: The "Gradostroitel" Association of USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification enterprises deems it possible to pay its president a wage of R1,500 per month, to pay his assistant R1,000 per month, the general director R1,400 per month, the chauffeur R500 per month, and the secretary and typist R300 per month. Do the collectives of the founder plants know about this and do they agree with it?

In the present frankly difficult situation, where producers' monopoly and an unbalanced market are the economic reality, clearly we should temporarily restore direct restrictions on the maximum number of bonuses for certain categories of personnel—6 salaries per year, for example. Associations should also be investigated. Given skillful exercise of the rights of enterprises and organizations in the use of specific forms of incentives, this will make it possible to save money on labor remuneration without reducing its incentive effect.

Special attention must be paid to price control. Efforts to boost the goods turnover cannot be allowed to be replaced by inflation of the prices of goods and services, as often happens now.

There is a need to urgently introduce a mechanism which would make it economically disadvantageous for enterprises to obtain revenue by raising prices. A correct step would be a form of regulation of labor remuneration funds whereby they would decrease if price factors were used in the shaping of economic results and, conversely, would increase if the enterprise reduced prices.

During the period of the operation of emergency measures to regulate money circulation contract prices for goods and services for which state prices have been set should be abandoned. Prior to the implementation of a general price reform and of measures to balance the market, the USSR State Committee on Prices must elaborate a system ensuring the stabilization of the level of prices throughout the national economy and investigate so-called new and especially fashionable goods. And the newly created price control inspectorates must at long last have a substantial say. Labor collective councils and trade union and other social organizations could also have a say in forming the structure of goods to be produced and create a barrier to the erosion of cheap articles and soaring prices. It is impossible to resolve the problem by voting in the production unit for increased production of expensive goods and hoping to find cheap goods in the stores.

In the package of measures to regulate price formation the task of curbing the growth in prices for vegetables and fruit is of great importance. In a number of regions the scarcity of certain types of vegetables and fruit is such that market prices already exceed the prices of meat and milk. Surely here too decisions and assistance from the center are needed.

As from 1990 it is planned to introduce contract prices in the public sector too. In connection with this it is planned to change the procedure for the payment of state subsidies to compensate for price differences in respect of potatoes, vegetables, and canned vegetables and fruit. These funds will be transferred to the areas of consumption and will total around R4 billion. Local soviets of people's deputies must thoroughly prepare for the introduction of the new price regulation procedure so as to avoid a price explosion.

Stepping Up the Social Thrust of Budget Expenditure

Comrade Deputies! In the draft state budget for 1990 a fundamentally new policy of budget expenditure is proposed. Its essence lies in enhancing the socioeconomic return on budget expenditure without relaxing the struggle against the budget deficit. The government has defined this as one of the central and strategic tasks for the whole period of the perestroyka and of improving the country's finances.

The expenditure side of the budget is most closely tied up with these tasks and is submitted in the following form:

Approved for 1989—Billion Rubles

	Total [summa]	As percentage of total [v % k itogu]
Budget allocations—all:	494.8	100.0
of these:		
I—Sphere of physical production and science	[no data published]	
Funding the national economy	199.4	40.3
of which:		

—funding centralized capital investments	70.3	14.2
—subsidies for food production	87.8	17.7
Funding science	7.5	1.5
II—Nonproduction sphere[no data published]		
Funding sociocultural measures (*)	143.4	29.0
of which:		
—public education, culture, and art	46.9	9.5
—health care and physical culture	24.9	5.0
—social insurance and social security	71.6	14.5
Funding centralized measures to raise living standards	4.2	0.8
III—Foreign economic activity—all	31.4	6.3
of which:		
—funding foreign trade	10.8	2.2
—state credits and nonrepayable aid to foreign states	12.5	2.5
—servicing external debt	5.3	1.1
IV—Centralized social requirements	[no data published]	
of which:		
—defense funding	77.3	15.6
—funding organs of state power and state administration	2.8	0.6
—funding law-enforcement organs	8.6	1.7
V—Servicing state internal debt	7.2	1.5
VI—Monetary reserves	3.7	0.7

(Including part of expenditure to fund centralized measures to raise living standards.)*

[In the following table, column "A" shows the total amount (summa); column "B" shows this amount as percentage of total (v % k itogu); column "C" the amount of budgeted current expenditure; and column "D" shows the amount of budgeted development expenditure]

Projected for 1990—Billion Rubles

	A	B	C	D
Budget allocations—all:	488.2	100.0	406.8	81.4
of these:				
I—Sphere of physical production and science funding the national economy	187.4	38.4	140.9	46.5
of which:				
—funding centralized capital investments	40.5	8.3	Nil	40.5
—subsidies for food production	95.7	19.6	95.7	Nil
Funding science	11.0	2.3	Nil	11.0
II—Nonproduction sphere funding sociocultural measures(*)	158.8	32.5	137.5	21.3
of which:				
—public education, culture, and art	48.9	10.0	41.2	7.7
—health care and physical culture	26.7	5.5	22.6	4.1
—social insurance and social security	83.2	17.0	73.7	9.5
Funding centralized measures to raise living standards	9.8	2.0	9.8	
III—Foreign economic activity—all	26.0	5.3	26.0	Nil
of which:				
—funding foreign trade	7.4	1.5	7.4	Nil
—state credits and nonrepayable aid to foreign states	9.7	2.0	9.7	Nil
—servicing external debt	6.2	1.3	6.2	Nil
IV—Centralized social requirements	[no data published]			
of which:				
—defense funding	70.9	14.5	70.9	Nil
—funding organs of state power and state administration	2.9	0.6	2.9	Nil
—funding law-enforcement organs	8.8	1.8	8.8	Nil
V—Servicing state internal debt	8.8	1.8	8.8	Nil
VI—Monetary reserves	4.1	0.8	4.1	Nil

(Including part of expenditure to fund centralized measures to raise living standards.)*

The data I have cited indicate that the policy of budget expenditures is being seriously restructured. The division of state expenditure into current and development expenditure makes it possible to highlight even more graphically the financial priorities of the next budget year.

A major redistribution of resources for urgent social needs is planned.

The total budget expenditure on satisfying social needs in 1990 will exceed R300 billion and will account for 62.7 percent of the total budget against 57.3 percent in the current year.

The fastest growth rate is envisaged for appropriations for social and cultural measures. They will increase by almost R17 billion, or by 11.8 percent of the current year's plan. This is more than twice as fast as the growth rate for gross national product. More than R21 billion

will be appropriated from the budget for the development of public education and health care and the improvement of social security.

The growth of expenditure in the social and cultural sphere is designed to improve the qualitative indicators of its functioning—enhancing and equalizing norms, and improving catering, medical supplies, and the provision of linen [myagkiy inventar]. There is provision for funds for the acquisition of computer technology and the retooling of education and health care institutions. There will be an increase of 150 percent in expenditure on the struggle against AIDS (R53.5 million), the acquisition of pacemakers (R22.7 million), the acquisition of disposable syringes and needles (R354.6 million), and payment for influenza vaccine (R38.5 million). Appropriations are being made to further increase the wages of workers in health care, higher education establishments, social security, and cultural enlightenment institutions. In line with the decision to discharge students from the Army ahead of schedule and to end student conscription, the additional expenditure on the upkeep of education establishments will amount to R270 million. The necessary funds are envisaged for the introduction and development of a new and progressive form of social service—family kindergartens and children's homes.

The draft budget takes fully into account the specific instructions given to the government by the USSR Supreme Soviet on questions of raising minimum pensions, establishing regional pension coefficients, and granting additional benefits to internationalist soldiers, Great Patriotic War veterans, and the wives and parents of servicemen who died at the front. An amount of R7.0 billion is provided for these purposes. A total of R9.8 billion is allocated for the implementation of new measures to raise living standards, as against R4.2 billion in the current year.

In line with the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution, the implementation of the first stage of the pension program will be fully financed through higher state social insurance tariffs and increased labor resource payments in respect of enterprise and organization management apparatus officials. By the end of 1990 the number of pensioners will have increased to more than 60 million. The average pension will increase by 15 percent, including a 43.0 percent increase for collective farm [kolkhoz] members and an 11.2 percent increase for workers and employees.

An amount of R26.2 billion, or one-half of all budget-financed investments, will be channeled into the construction of housing and social, cultural, and consumer service facilities. In 1990 budget funds will be used to finance the construction of one in every three apartments and the commissioning of general education schools with places for 515,000 pupils. There will be an increase in the number of hospital beds and places in children's institutions, and the network of cultural enlightenment institutions will expand. Following the handover of vacant so-called "hospitality" residences and dachas for use as children's institutions, additional places for more than 12,000 children will be created, and R6.5 million is being allocated for this purpose.

A key position in the budget's social reorientation is occupied by the increase in centralized financing of the agro-industrial complex. It is proposed to appropriate R116.5 billion in 1990, which is R8 billion more than the current year's plan and R10.4 billion more than the 5-year plan projections. This creates additional strain in the country's budget and finances, but this expenditure must be incurred in order to accelerate the solution of the food problem.

The following data give an idea of the orientation of budget payments into the economy's agro-industrial sector [all amounts in the following table are in billion rubles; column "A" shows the 1989 plan figure; column "B" shows the draft 1990 plan figure; column "C" shows the 1990 figure expressed as a percentage of the 1989 figure]:

	A	B	C
Budget appropriations of which:	108.5	116.5	107.4
Centralized capital investments	14.0	13.3	95.0
Operating costs	4.3	4.7	109.3
Compensation for price differences in agricultural produce purchases	55.1	61.9	112.3
Differentiated markups on purchase prices	32.2	33.1	102.8
Road building on kolkhozes	0.9	0.9	100.0
Capital repairs to budget-funded institutions, partial reimbursement of harvesting expenses, and other expenditure	2.0	2.6	130.0

[Footnote: Taking own-resources investment into account, the volume of capital investments will amount to R63.6 billion and will increase by 10 percent]

The envisaged appropriations create the necessary preconditions to fully implement the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions on restructuring purchase prices in agriculture and transferring territories to self-financing.

The draft budget provides an amount of R100 billion to compensate for price differences for raw materials and agricultural produce and for differentiated markups on purchase prices. They are an important factor for the stabilization of retail prices and the maintenance of the population's living standards, and therefore remain one of the heavier sections in the expenditure part of the budget. It is necessary to enhance the efficiency of their utilization. To this end it is expedient to accelerate the transition to end product subsidies in order to encourage a decline in raw material and food losses.

The draft 1990 budget envisages further strengthening the financial base of the agro-industrial complex. As I said earlier, profits in agriculture are almost entirely left to meet its own needs. This creates economic opportunities for gradually clearing the debts that have accumulated there. Plan sources are also envisaged for the repayment of bank loans in some processing industry sectors, including the sugar industry and the oil and fat industry.

The restructuring of state budget expenditures covers all aspects of people's prosperity. At the same time, there are still very great unsatisfied urgent needs in the social sphere. In these circumstances, a redistribution of money resources alone—which are in any case limited—will not solve the problem. The main thing is to eliminate the lag in the material base. Here it is necessary to unconditionally implement whatever has been planned.

The building and expansion of the network of sociocultural institutions are the key to improving services for the population by easing the workload of physicians, teachers, and educators. But financial priority must be given to solving the pressing problems of social assistance to the low-income strata of the population, primarily pensioners, large families, single mothers, and the disabled.

The budget financing of material production in 1990 is geared primarily toward sharply increasing financial influence on the effectiveness of investment policy. It is in capital construction that for many years the country incurred the most tangible financial losses stemming from the freezing of huge resources in costly projects with low rates of return.

We intend to break with this tendency and to revive the idea of financial benefit and financial recovery of investment costs. By way of initial steps in this direction, in 1990 we have to give enterprises as many opportunities as possible to fully utilize the funds they earn for production and nonproduction construction. By giving preference to capital investments effected directly by enterprises and financed by their own funds and credit facilities, we are boosting the incentives for collectives to earn more and are influencing the duration and level of cost recovery by really reorienting capital investments in favor of the modernization, retooling, and reconstruction of existing enterprises. It is intended to actively utilize the loan fund for this purpose.

The financial aspect of the investment process in 1990 is as follows:

	Billion Rubles		
	1989	1990	Difference (p for plus, dash for minus)
State centralized capital investments of which:	99.5	83.5	-16.0
Economically accountable sources of finance	24.2	25.2	p 1.0
Bank credits	0.3	5.2	p 4.9
Budget appropriations	75.0	53.1	-21.9
Noncentralized capital investments funded by economically accountable sources	86.0	95.4	p 9.4

The development of the infrastructure is one of the most important conditions for investment efficiency. This is why in 1990, despite the complex financial situation, there will be more building and repairs of highways, funded by budget appropriations of R3.3 billion and R6.5 channeled into this work from enterprise and organization funds. This will make it possible to build and commission 15,800 km of public highways.

The concentration of resources is more important in the improvement of the infrastructure than anywhere else. Today we can already see real confirmation of the correctness of such approaches. The priority channeling of funds into the construction and reconstruction of highways in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Non-Chernozem Zone—for which R2.6 million is appropriated from the budget, R1.4 billion of that sum being covered by the taxation of owners of means of transportation—will make it possible to commission a total of 6,700 km of public highways and 12,500 km of internal farm roads there. An annual growth of 25 percent.

The improved protection of the environment and the more rational utilization of natural resources constitute an important socioeconomic task. It is planned to channel R12.7 billion from all sources of finance for this purpose.

State capital investment for the construction of facilities for the protection and rational utilization of water resources and the atmosphere is set at R2.9 billion. Afforestation work is planned on 2 million hectares, which will make it possible to compensate for the estimated timber felling in 1990. Expenditure on the maintenance of nature reserves and national parks and on biotechnological methods for the conservation and reproduction of wild animals is in excess of R210 million. An amount of R150 million is allocated to the newly created organs of the USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment.

Scientific and Technical Progress Is the Key to Enhancing Economic Efficiency

With a view to accelerating scientific and technical progress, the draft makes provision for the appropriation of R11 billion for scientific research and experimental design work (excluding expenditure for defense

projects), which exceeds the appropriations for the current year by more than 40 percent.

The budget allocations for research directly geared to producing a social effect are being increased considerably: allocations to scientific organizations in the health service sphere by 44.1 percent, and to those in the sphere of education by 62 percent.

The problem of the return on state expenditure on science is very acute today. The existing mechanism of funding scientific research is not very efficient and needs restructuring. It is necessary to firmly establish the targeted-program approach to the funding of scientific work, to finance specific studies, rather than the upkeep of scientific establishments, and to enhance the role of the client. For this purpose R1.3 billion are being allocated in 1990 to finance priority areas within comprehensive scientific and technical programs. This is 40 percent more than in the current year.

About defense spending. The Soviet state's realistic and constructive foreign policy aimed at widely developing businesslike and mutually advantageous cooperation in the world arena makes it possible for us to lighten the burden of the military budget. In 1990 it is being reduced to R70.9 billion, which will make it possible to implement the proposals voiced at the Congress of People's Deputies to reduce military expenditure in 1991 by 14 percent. The cuts in Armed Forces personnel in accordance with the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the more rational and thrifty expenditure of resources in the operation and repair of combat hardware make it possible to reduce the expenditure for the maintenance of the Army and Navy from R20.2 billion to R19.0 billion. The volume of finance for military science is being reduced by R2.2 billion.

Expenditure on military construction is being reduced by 15 percent, while maintaining the volumes of housing and sociocultural construction, which is also in line with a decision of the Congress of People's Deputies.

Payments of pensions to people discharged from the ranks of the Soviet Army into the reserve and servicemen's old-age pensions will increase and total R2.4 billion.

The volume of budget funds for the maintenance of Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] subunits is set at R4.8 billion.

In addition expenditure totaling R0.8 billion is envisaged in the state budgets of union republics for the maintenance of subunits of the professional fire-fighting service and highway patrol service and for measures to prevent juvenile crime.

The draft budget makes provision for the appropriation of around R500 million for the implementation of the USSR Supreme Soviet's decision to step up the struggle against crime. This will make it possible to increase deliveries of equipment, motor transport, means of communication and individual protection, and computer equipment, and to raise the money allowance paid to rank-and-file and junior command staff of USSR MVD organs and to improve their social and everyday amenities.

Budget expenditure for state administration at the current stage is set at R2.9 billion for 1990, as against R2.84 under the plan for the current year.

In contrast to the practice of past years, the volume of appropriations for the maintenance of organs of state power, state administration, and the courts in union republics is not laid down but is taken into account in the calculations of the sum total of union republic budgets. This does away with the overregulation of expenditure falling within republics' sphere of competence and ensures the practical implementation of their budget rights.

The problem of bringing wages in organs of state power and administration into line with the level which prevails in the national economy also demands solution. This is particularly important in view of the upcoming elections to union republic Supreme Soviets and local soviets of people's deputies.

The situation prevailing in the management apparatus in the material production sphere is becoming a serious national economic and material problem. Expenditure on its maintenance now totals R38 billion annually and continues to rise. The gulf between management organization and modern demands and the inability of a number of leaders to discard obsolete forms and methods of work are taking their toll.

Judging by letters and articles in the press, the working people see inflated management staffing not only as an impediment to efforts to improve production and the economy but also as a substantial reserve for resolving pressing social problems. Labor collective councils have now been invested with extensive rights in this sphere by law, and they must exercise these rights fully and more resolutely.

Now about yet another section of budget expenditure. The financial imbalance of the economy and the budget deficit have resulted in the formation and growth of the state domestic debt. As already mentioned, it will reach R400 billion. Its existence calls for annual expenditure on interest payments and the repayment of debts as they fall due. In 1990 expenditure on servicing the state domestic debt is set at R8.8 billion. Some R1.6 billion is being allocated for the liquidation of the 1954 state loan bonds placed among the population; R0.9 billion is being allocated for the payment of prize money and other expenditure under the 1982 state domestic 3-percent lottery loan; and R6.3 billion is being allocated for the payment of interest to banks for credit resources. In addition, R6.2 billion will be needed in 1990 to service the state foreign debt.

Allow me now to pass on to regional aspects of the perestroyka of our financial policy.

Strengthening the Country's Budget System

Comrade Deputies! The draft USSR State Budget submitted for your examination contains a program for restructuring the budget process through its democratization and the enhancement of the role of the budget system in resolving our multinational motherland's socioeconomic tasks.

The union budget is acting in a new capacity. The deformation of the budget system structure formed over the years when the proportion of the union republics' budgets fell but that of the union budget rose continuously is being eliminated.

The union budget is presented for approval with revenue amounting to R198.4 billion and expenditure amounting to R247.5 billion. It constitutes 50.7 percent of the USSR State Budget as against 54-55 percent in recent years.

Union budget appropriations are intended, first, to finance the most important socioeconomic measures of statewide significance and, second, to effect the switch to fundamentally new financial mutual relations ensuring the harmonious unity of the country's budget system while also increasing the economic independence of territories.

The union budget guarantees the full balance of the state social insurance budget, which is formed and implemented by the AUCCTU. In the light of the new pension measures, trade unions are allocated a budget subsidy for the payment of pensions, grants, and other social needs to the tune of R25.8 billion, or around 40 percent of total expenditure.

A subsidy of R6.6 billion is also allocated for supporting the centralized union fund for kolkhoz members' social security. Budget subsidies constitute around 70 percent of this fund.

At the same time, it is deemed expedient to abandon this kind of subsidy as of 1991 with a view to ensuring that these needs are really reflected in production costs. In addition to examining the new draft law on pensions, it would also be timely to examine the question of the creation, functioning, and methods of management of a special pension fund.

Some R9 billion, or over 80 percent of all budget spending on science for civilian purposes, is being channeled from the union budget to finance scientific research and experimental design work under programs determining scientific and technical progress and to develop academic and intersectorial science.

The servicing of the state domestic and foreign debt is entirely the responsibility of the state budget.

Special emphasis should be placed on the role of the union budget in harmonizing the level of the regions' socieconomic development. For the first time in the practice of state planning subventions are to be introduced for union republics. They are designed to replace the former practice of blanket subsidies to cover the discrepancy between revenues and expenditures, are targeted in character, and will be allocated from the state budget to compensate for revenue shortfalls resulting from their uneven distribution among regions in the conditions of the current price system as well as to finance measures connected with the equalization of social provision.

The total volume of subventions is set at R7.4 billion and is as follows for individual union republics:

	(Billion rubles)
Uzbek SSR	2.7
Kazakh SSR	3.3
Kirghiz SSR	0.5
Tajik SSR	0.3
Armenian SSR	0.1
Turkmen SSR	0.5

Next year a resolute campaign must be waged against the budget deficit at all levels of the budget system. For a long time the union budget served to cushion the financial imbalance in the national economy. The country's state budget deficit was entirely the responsibility of the union budget. At the same time, payments from all-union taxes and revenues to the union republic budgets increased annually. The union budget also paid out direct subsidies to republic budgets at an increasing rate. Thus they were artificially kept in the black and the responsibility of republic and local organs for financial balance was reduced.

In 1990 it is planned to transfer all-union revenue and taxes amounting to R125.6 billion to the union republics' budgets, which ensures the financing of one-half of all the planned expenditure in those budgets.

However, despite this, it did not seem possible to fully balance the union republics' budgets. Calculations show that the real deficit of the union republics' state budgets in economic terms amounts to around R30 billion. The government has studied this problem carefully and, bearing in mind that union republic budget expenditure is three-fourths social in character, felt it possible to reduce the scale of the imbalance and proposes to set it at R10.9 billion. The burden on the union budget increases accordingly.

The new financial policy is indissolubly connected with the restructuring of territorial financial and budget planning on the basis of the principles of regional self-management. The draft budget lays the financial foundation for perfecting these principles in practice in 1990.

Resource payments from union enterprises—payment for manpower and payment for water amounting to R7.8 billion—are to be fully included in the republics' budgets.

An integrated approach to establishing payments for local needs from the profit of enterprises under union jurisdiction has been implemented. In 1990 it is proposed to introduce a normative of 20 percent for such payments for union republics (12 percent for the Ukrainian SSR). Some R14 billion will be paid into republic budgets, as opposed to R2 billion in the current year.

The draft budget also envisages setting an identical normative for payments from another union source—income tax. It is fixed at 50 percent. The choice of this scale of normatives for payments from the aforementioned sources is determined by the fact that, taking into account the payment for manpower and half the income tax receipts from workers and employees, these payments by enterprises under union jurisdiction are roughly equal and each amounts to around R20 billion. Republic budgets and correspondingly local budgets are thus made dependent in equal measure upon both sources of income. Such normatives consequently enhance local soviets' interest in increasing production efficiency. This is manifested in the fact that profit growth will put greater resources into their budget than the same amount of growth in wages.

Turnover tax remains the basic regulating income for union republic budgets in 1990. Its normatives are different for each union republic.

At the request of the Belorussian SSR Government, the budget of that republic, which will start trying out the principles of territorial economic accountability in the new year, is formed on the same principles.

As far as the state budgets of the Latvian and Lithuanian SSR's are concerned, a uniform normative for payments from all union revenue, including turnover tax, has been established for each republic. In our opinion, such an approach is most in line with the principles of territorial economic accountability proposed by those republics and is optimal at the present experimental stage. It can be used in constructing the new planning system at the level of local budgets, which account for 15 percent of the volume of USSR state budget expenditure. In view of the uneven formation of revenue stemming from the current system of prices and the siting of production, other methods of forming an income base for local budgets would create unjustified counterflows of financial resources.

At the same time the Estonian SSR is pressing for the establishment of a uniform normative for distributing all income received by the state budget on its territory between the union budget and the republic budget. I think that, in order to finalize and choose the most optimal solutions for the future, we could adopt this proposal for the period of the experiment and thus try out three methods of budgetary regulation within the framework of the country's unified budgetary system.

Restructuring the Financial and Credit Mechanism and Creating a Financial Market

Comrade Deputies!
The 1990 budget program is designed to initiate positive processes in restoring the material and cost balance of the national economy.

Neglect of balance methods which form the basis of the planned management of the economy, whereby expenditure is strictly commensurate with income and determined thereby, has led to the wasteful use of all kinds of resources and disruption of money circulation.

The present economic situation demands that the principle of living according to one's means be widely employed at all levels of of the national economy. Territorial economic accountability, self-financing of enterprises, tax-based methods of relations between the economic unit and the budget, the restoration of credit to its real purpose, and the formation of a financial market are to be the most important instruments for the implementation of this.

The last 2 years of intensive economic transformations have shown the productiveness and effectiveness of economic accountability and self-financing in mobilizing the reserves of the primary cell of the economic system and revealing working people's real potential. This line is now being enshrined in the economic accountability of territories, the restructuring of budget planning now under way, and the expansion of self-financing throughout the national economy.

The planned program of financial transformations can be fully implemented and will yield real results only given a switch to a tax-based organization of relations between economic units and the budget. This gives the producer equal conditions for the establishment of long-term relations directly with the state that are guaranteed by law rather than by ministries and harmonizes public, collective, and personal interests in increasing income by developing production and making rational use of resources.

The formation of a financial market regulated by the state through an active tax and interest rate policy is a pressing area of the restructuring of finance and credit. Its development will make it possible to enhance the efficiency with which material, labor, and monetary resources are used in the national economy, broaden perestroyka's financial base, and speed up the process of improving finances. It is based on the presence of large amounts of spare monetary resources at the disposal of enterprises and the population. In the last 3 years the residue of resources held in enterprises' accounts alone has doubled and amounts to more than R100 billion. A considerable proportion of this could be advantageously loaned out on a commercial basis by the holders of these resources to other enterprises, banks, and the state. We

are concerned here with bringing spare monetary resources into economic circulation on a mutually advantageous basis.

In time, the financial market will make it possible to abandon the cumbersome system of sectorial redistribution of financial resources, which continues to undermine the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing as a result of the confiscation without adequate compensation of resources from leading enterprises and their use to support laggard enterprises. At present no less that R40 billion passes through this system, and the utilization of this money is not made conditional on even the least demands for efficiency.

Shares, bonds, bills of exchange, and other securities circulating in the financial market will be an active instrument for mobilizing the spare money resources of enterprises and the population and will stimulate the buildup of accumulations and their rational utilization for purposes of expanded reproduction. Financial relations connected with the acquisition of shares and bonds by some enterprises from others, and also by banks and financial organizations, will replace the bureaucratic administration of the flow of money. The acquisition of shares in suppliers by clients gives them the right of direct, interested intervention in the management of production, whose high end results are in the interests of both partners. At present individual enterprises have issued shares to the overall value of more than R100 million. This is only the begining. We have every reason to believe that the scale of the circulation of securities will increase immeasurably when the market comes into play and joint-stock companies become full-fledged participants in social production.

The financial market will also promote the improvement of relations inside the financial and credit system. The loan bonds and treasury bills issued by the government for sale to enterprises, banks, and the population on a voluntary basis with the payment of interest will make it possible to discard the present forms of essentially nonrepayable use of borrowings as part of budget revenue, placing these relations too on a commercial footing.

It is planned to issue a R60 billion state domestic loan to run through 2006 with a 5 percent annual yield, redeemable in equal parts over 10 years beginning with 1996. It is planned to place it with enterprises, cooperatives, banks, and insurance and other financial and credit establishments. The regulation of the specific size and terms of the loan to be issued is to be entrusted to the USSR Government and the governments of union republics respectively.

Comrades!
We are all well aware of our festering ulcer—the unredeemed loans of the fifties. At present they total in excess of R9 billion. By the end of the current year, 1953 loan bonds to the value of R1.4 billion will have been redeemed. The submitted draft budget makes provision for redeeming 1954 loan bonds to the value of R1.6 billion. At the same time the government believes that it may be possible, by means of the mobilization of spare money resources from individual sections of the population via the channels of the financial market, to speed up the repayment of the 1955-1956 loans totaling R6.5 billion. For this reason it is planned to issue a state domestic loan in the form of treasury bills placed among the population on a strictly voluntary basis for a period of 16 years, totaling R15 billion, and with an annual yield of 5 percent, and to repay the aforementioned 1955-1956 loans as and when the treasury bills are taken up. We hope that the population and social organizations will support this measure.

It is also proposed to implement widely the floating of targeted loans which grant the bond owners the guaranteed, priority right to the priority acquisition of consumer durables and consumer goods in increased demand (cars, refrigerators, washing machines, and others). The funds attracted are to be used to develop the production of goods and the services sphere.

The organization of the circulation of securities is a new area of work for financial and bank organs, which must assist in issuing and placing them, control their supply, give recommendations to potential investors, and work actively on the broad dissemination of these forms of attracting funds from enterprises and the population.

Credit policy has to be substantially restructured, and the structure of credit investments improved. At present considerable sums of credits—approximately R100 billion of loan fund—are used outside the sphere of productive circulation and cover actual losses and mismanagement. The new credit policy must impart to credit its inherent commercial nature and reorient it from emission methods to economic methods.

For this a new interest policy is also needed. "Cheap" credit results in large losses for the country in the form of huge stocks of physical commodity assets, incomplete construction, and inefficient investments. A flexible interest policy is called upon to protect the loan fund from being plundered and to ensure the formation of a real price for credit resources. The inflationary situation that has come about also requires an increase in the interest on credit. All this obliges us to reinterpret the fundamental principles of the restructuring of the credit system and to make a new assessment of the coordinating and regulating role of the country's central bank in managing money circulation.

The broadening of commodity-money relations and the development of diverse forms of ownership presuppose the isolation of state property as an independent object of financial management. This will require a change in the functions and structure of the financial system and the creation of specialized organs whose task would be to control the movement of state property in the form of securities, collect rent, and perform other operations. In other words, it is a question of reviving such a previously well known state institution as the treasury.

It must also be said most definitely that a way out of the present complex economic situation cannot be found without strengthening financial discipline. The broadening of enterprises' rights in planning and economic activity presupposes, at the same time, unity of the methods of recording expenditure and resources and setting out financial results. This is important for the struggle against losses and for the organization of material incentives in production, as well as for the full mobilization of state income.

The financial system will be actively restructured to assimilate tax-based methods of dealing with the economy. The trend of economic relations is such that in the very near future local financial organs and banks will effectively become enterprises' partners. Horizontal financial links and regional planning will replace the vertical flow of money to the ministries and back into the economy. Sector redistribution will be reduced to a minimum or will cease altogether. The entire process of the elaboration and implementation of the budget is to be radically restructured, financial organs are to be made the organizing center of the region's economic life, the tax inspection service is to be rapidly re-formed, in effect, and it is to be provided with professionally competent specialists who will implement the new financial policy in an enterprising way.

Comrade Deputies!
The draft new budget proposes taking a number of major steps to strengthen the ruble and effect the social reorientation of state expenditure. The proposed schemes are in many respects emergency measures and arise out of the complex and acute socioeconomic situation in a number of regions and in the country as a whole. Therefore all the work on forming and implementing the budget acquires special significance. In 1990 it is vital that we make substantial progress along the planned path and lay a solid foundation for full financial recovery at the start of the next 5-year plan. We are faced with a hard road and difficult, delicate, and crucial decisions.

The government is confident that the country has the wherewithal to destroy the negative trends in financial development and money circulation. In order to bring this potential fully into play, work on accelerating financial transformations must be a nationwide effort and the focus of the economic organization activities of union and autonomous republics, soviets, labor collectives, and all components of the finance and credit system. We expect active support and practical assistance from the body of deputies, party organizations and all Communists, and public organizations in the implementation of the measures proposed in the USSR State Budget for 1990 and we ask the USSR Supreme Soviet to examine and approve the draft.

Comrade Deputies!
The report on the implementation of the USSR State Budget for 1988 has been presented for your consideration. Budget revenue, taking into account the funds enlisted to finance expenditure in the sum of R90.1 billion, was R469 billion and expenditure was R459.5 billion. You have in your possession detailed information pertaining to the report on the implementation of the budget, therefore I would ask you to examine it and approve it also.

Supreme Soviet Decree Rescinds Brezhnev Award

LD2809111789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (TASS)—The following decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has been distributed here:

"On rescinding the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 20 February 1978 'on awarding the Order of Victory to L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, chairman of the USSR Defense Council, and Marshal of the Soviet Union.'"

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

To rescind the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 20 February 1978 on awarding the Order of Victory to L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, chairman of the USSR Defense Council, and Marshal of the Soviet Union, as not being in accordance with the statute.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev
Chairman, USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin
21 September, 1989

Committee Approves Draft Law on Press

PM2709151589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Special correspondent V. Dolganov report: "Draft Press Law Approved"]

[Text] Whatever draft laws, legislative acts, or other documents of importance for all of society and for each of its citizens are currently being examined by Supreme Soviet commissions and committees, the course of their discussion often boils down to a main point: In order to make perestroyka successful and irreversible we need firm guarantees of freedom stipulated in and protected by the law. Guarantees of the freedom of people's deputies at all levels from pressure exerted by any apparatus or its leading representatives. The freedom of production workers from departmental diktat, and of peasants from office-bound "experts." The freedom of local soviets to solve their problems independently, without pressure or prompting from the center.

The [USSR Supreme Soviet] Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals held a discussion on the draft law on the press and the other mass media. The discussion was opened by Deputy A.S.

Yezhelev. This draft has had a difficult history. For almost two decades attempts were made to draw up a similar document and create the foundations for the free and democratic functioning of journalist collectives. The draft law was initially included on the agenda of the previous USSR Supreme Soviet session, but it failed to win the deputies' support. A working group, including representatives from the Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals and a number of other committees, worked virtually all through the parliamentary recess. International experience and the practice of domestic publishing activity were utilized. The deputies invited the law scholars Yu.M. Baturin, M.A. Fedotov, and V.L. Entin—who, for the first time in Soviet legal practice, drew up their own enterprising draft and had it published by the Legal Literature Publishing House out of their own pocket—to join in joint work on the draft.

"In the opinion of the members of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order," Deputy N.V. Fedorov said, "this draft law is the most mature and well-prepared draft of all those discussed by the commissions and committees. It can and should be examined on the first few days of the second session of the Supreme Soviet."

This opinion was shared by many deputies, including some from the Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management working group, on whose behalf Deputy V.A. Logunov spoke. Both he and Deputies A.A. Zgerskaya (Yaroshinskaya), M.N. Poltoranin, and others made some suggestions and amendments to the draft law. However, there was a common feeling that it was sufficiently complete (many arguments—sometimes even contradictory arguments—had been taken into account and "reconciled") and that it was necessary to adopt this document, which is fundamentally new for our country.

Obviously, the draft will soon be published in the mass-circulation press, and then readers will be able to see its merits, shortcomings, and debatable points for themselves. We will just state briefly: If the session adopts the draft law, not only state and social organizations and creative unions, but religious, cooperative, and other associations of citizens set up in accordance with the law will obtain the right to establish mass media services [sredstva massovoy informatsii], as will labor collectives and individual USSR citizens.

The draft clearly substantiates the impermissibility of censorship, the right to set up and the mechanism for registering press organs and other mass media services, legal guarantees for their activities and journalists' work, the rights and duties of members of editorial collectives, the procedure for obtaining and disseminating mass information, and much else besides. It is very important that the draft devotes considerable attention to the protection of the rights of both journalists themselves and readers and all citizens.

But even if the draft is clearly worked out, not all problems will have been removed. What sort of law do we need today—a direct, all-union law? Or, perhaps, we need fundamentals of legislation, giving union republics the freedom and opportunity to work out and apply their own laws on the press and other mass media services? Should we implement this law immediately or initially elaborate a whole package of proposed draft laws to safeguard citizens' right to freedom of conviction, speech, and conscience along with the right to freedom of information?

The deputies tried to answer these difficult questions in the course of the discussion. Any interested parties—including representatives of newspaper, TV, and radio editorial offices, and others—were able to take part in the discussion (not for the first time). Unfortunately, not all of them were able to resist a departmental approach to the questions of developing glasnost and democracy. For instance, V.A. Avdevich, chief of the USSR State Committee for the Press' Periodicals Administration, displayed—according to Deputy A.Ye. Sebentsov and certain other speakers—the classic administrative approach: the desire to control everything and everyone, to keep a firm grip on the right to ban things, and to impose the command system's usual edict: "Forbidden."

The committee, chaired by B.N. Nikolskiy (committee Chairman V.K. Foteyev was participating in the CPSU Central Committee plenum), approved the draft law in principle.

The Soviet of the Union's Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission and other commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers continued work 19 September on studying the drafts of the State Plan and Budget for 1990. Probably the most acute discussions took place at the Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection, which familiarized itself scrupulously and painstakingly with materials from the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the Ministries of Health and Finance, and other ministries and departments, on the success or failure of whose activity the well-being of all of us directly depends.

The deputies have returned to Moscow in the mood for serious and responsible decisions and fully resolved to draw up the agenda for the second session of the Supreme Soviet and the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies in such a way as to get the greatest use and practical returns out of every day in the current complex situation in order to further deepen economic and political reforms.

Political & Social

Shcherbitskiy Steps Down as Ukraine Party Head

LD2809151189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Our special correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy reports from Kiev.

[Ruvinksiy] As our radio listeners already know, today in Kiev a Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum opened. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is taking part in it. The leaders of republican organizations have also been invited to the plenum, as have first secretaries of raykoms of the Ukrainian Communist Party from the city of Kiev, and representatives of the press, television, and radio.

The plenum was opened by Vladimir Vasiliyevich Shcherbitskiy. He addressed a statement to the participants of the plenum, noting that the life of the party and the state there is going through a difficult and responsible period, when the volume of work and responsibility are immeasurably growing. Age and state of health do not allow him to carry out his duties as required. Therefore, Vladimir Vasiliyevich Shcherbitskiy asked that he be relieved from his post as first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also spoke at the plenum, and supported the statement by Comrade Shcherbitskiy. He expressed gratitude for the many years of fruitful work done by comrade Shcherbitskiy. The question of electing a new first secretary to the republic Communist Party Central Committee was posed. Gorbachev shared his thoughts on this point with the Party Central Committee. The floor was then given to comrade Kharchenko, who reported that the discussion of a new first secretary had taken place in the republic at party aktivs. In all, 1,600 people took part in the meetings, 200 people spoke, and the party aktivs proposed several candidacies.

However, most often named was the candidacy of Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko, who presently holds the post of secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party. During the discussion, six candidacies were proposed and, following discussion at the plenum, two candidacies were entered in the ballot list for the post of first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party—they are Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko and Stanislav Ivanovich Gurenko.

Ballot papers are now being prepared for secret balloting. Balloting will take place at the plenum and soon the results will be announced. We will inform our radio listeners of them without fail.

Ivashko To Replace Shcherbitskiy

LD2809155189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1528 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Kiev, 28 Sep (TASS)—A plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee took place here today, and discussed an organizational issue.

The plenum released Vladimir Shcherbitskiy from his duties as first secretary and member of the Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his retirement. Gratitude was expressed to Vladimir Shcherbitskiy for his long and fruitful work at the head of the republican party organization.

After a thorough discussion at the plenum of the candidacies for the post of first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the candidacies of Stanislav Gurenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and Vladimir Ivashko, second secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, were entered on a list for secret balloting.

Vladimir Ivashko was elected first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in a secret ballot. The results of the voting also reflected the view of communists in the oblast party organizations, in which, on the previous day, the nomination and broad discussion of candidates for the post of first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Commitee took place, and the candidature of Vladimir Ivashko received the greatest support.

Those attending the plenum were addressed by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Ivashko Profiled

LD2809165189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1622 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Kiev, 28 Sep (TASS)—Fifty-six-year-old Vladimir Ivashko was elected first secretary of the Ukranian Communist Party Central Committee—one of the biggest republican party organizations in the USSR—at a plenum of that Central Committee held here today.

Vladimir Ivashko is a Ukrainian and has been a CPSU member since 1960. By training he is an engineer. He graduated from Kharkov Mining Institute in 1956 and has a candidate of economic science degree. On graduating from the institute he was involved in teaching and scientific work. He was elected secretary of the institute's party committee. For 5 years he worked as head of the department of science and academic establishments [as received], and for 8 years as secretary of the Kharkov party obkom. In 1986 he was elected secretary of the Central Committee and candidate member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo. Since April 1987 he has been first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk party obkom. In January 1988 he was elected member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, and since December of last year he has been second secretary of the Central Committee. Vladimir Ivashko is a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Gorbachev Arrives in Kiev; Met by Shcherbitskiy

LD2809102189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today arrived in the capital of the

Ukraine. He will take part in a plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

At the airport Comrade Gorbachev was met by Comrade Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; and other party and Soviet leaders of the republic and city.

Voronin Meets With Donbass Miners

LD2709195389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Sep (TASS)—Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers met in the Kremlin on Tuesday with USSR people's deputies from the Donbass and members of the strike committees of this coal region. During the conversation there was a detailed and frank exchange of news and views.

Lev Voronin expressed the government's concern over the lag in coal extraction, which may have the most unfavorable consequences for the national economy. He expressed the certainty that the miners would understand the seriousness of the situation. The government, for its part, is taking the necessary measures to fulfill all its obligations to the miners. The main thing is to maintain restraint, conduct a constructive dialogue, and find mutually acceptable solutions.

Mikhail Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry, who took part in the conversation, spoke about what is being done regarding the 3 August government decision "On measures to ensure the implementation of the joint decisions by government commissions with the involvement of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the strike committees of the working people of the country's coal regions."

Commissions are functioning on the transfer of enterprises to full independence, and for preparing proposals on the social and economic development of the Kuznetsk, Donetsk, Karaganda, and Pechora coal regions. By the present time, 164 enterprises of the sector have been transferred to full independence. Apart from this, it has been decided to introduce in the fourth quarter of this year new coal price rates. The government has earmarked R1.05 billion for certain supplementary payments to several categories of coal industry workers. A draft law on pensions has been worked out which will be passed to the USSR Supreme Soviet in October 1989.

The decision was made during discussion on systematically publishing in the press and on television materials relating to the progress in implementing the abovementioned decision of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Ukrainian Public Comments on People's Movement

LD2709124189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Video report from Kiev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Valentin Dvinin in Kiev, identified by caption] The founding congress of the Rukh movement recently took place in Kiev. Its full name is People's Movement of the Ukraine in Support of Perestroyka. Central press publications on the subject contained contradictory assessments. So what is Rukh? [video shows Dvinin in a square]

[Dvinin] Could you tell me, please, whether you have heard about the Rukh movement?

[Unidentified woman] Of course, I have.

[Dvinin] What do you know about it?

[Woman] Well, I know that it's a movement which I personally don't support. I think it is a gathering of people who are going to do very little for the people at large.

[Unidentified man] I do not think they support perestroyka. It's a bunch of intellectuals who have gathered, these obscure writers. What's all this trident? What's this yellow-and-blue flag? I only understand the Ukrainian flag and the state flag. That's the two flags that I know, and that's it. I don't understand any others.

[Second unidentified man] Well, the Rukh movement is a progressive movement. At present, in my opinion, it expresses the most progressive realistic prospects under which it is possible to achieve both economic development and national development of every people.

[Second unidentified woman] I am scared of this movement. Why? Because I look at what is happening, and if this national movement turns into a nationalist one and things start going like they are in the south of our country, or in the Baltics, that terrifies me.

[Dvinin] These were the kinds of different views which we heard in the center of Kiev, in October Revolution Square.

But what are the Rukh's ultimate goals? Dmitro Pavlychko, one of the movement' leaders, the well-known Ukrainian writer, told us about this in an interview.

[Pavlychko] We have never and under no circumstances been calling for leaving the Soviet Union. We are calling for a new agreement, a federal agreement which will rejuvenate our federation and guarantee genuine—rather than on paper—sovereignty for every republic, including the Ukraine. That is our road, and I think it coincides with what has been said at the plenum on the nationalities issue. [video shows interview]

Deputies' Groups Debate Ukrainian Election Law

PM1509150489 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Aug 89 pp 1, 3

[Feature comprising two open letters from groups of USSR people's deputies and Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputies, with editorial introduction: "With a Sense of Responsibility to the People"]

[Text] On 15 August the Lvov newspaper LENINSKA MOLOD published an account by USSR People's Deputy Yu. Sorochik on a meeting in Kiev of members of the interregional deputies' group from the Ukraine. The reason for the meeting was to discuss the draft Law on Elections of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Deputies.

According to the newspaper account, at the meeting "Deputy Chernyak, for instance, said quite openly that he does not believe in the efficacy of discussion, and called for the alternative draft to be settled on." And although that document does not yet exist (it is to be drawn up by a commission formed by the participants in the discussion), the members of the interregional group called on "all labor collectives to join in the struggle for the alternative draft election law." They also appealed to all citizens of the Ukraine to attend a republic-wide rally on 2 September, so as to express their attitude toward the elections. And if the relevant organs of power do not adopt the alternative draft, a boycott of the elections is to be called for, including strikes.

The participants in the meeting also decided to send an open letter to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies, putting forward demands in relation to the future law and the principles by which the body of deputies is formed.

A group of USSR people's deputies and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies asked RATAU to convey their response to this appeal to the editorial offices of the republic's newspapers.

Open Letter From a Group of USSR People's Deputies and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputies to the Interregional Group of USSR People's Deputies From the Ukraine

Esteemed comrades!

We have carefully studied your letter and the account of the meeting of the interregional group of USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine which discussed the question of the forthcoming elections and the draft Ukrainian SSR Law "On Elections of Ukrainian SSR People's Deputies." We are equally concerned about the further development of the processes of democratization and the strengthening of people's power in the republic. The forthcoming elections to the republican and local soviets of people's deputies are certainly intended to be an important stage along the road to this goal. We are confident that the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies, fully aware of the responsibility they bear, will do everything in their power to ensure that the law adopted expresses the people's interests and accords with perestroyka.

However, we cannot but be concerned at the categorical nature of the demands that you put forward in your letter in connection with the draft election law. Naturally, no draft can be ideal—even if the most authoritative experts, deputies, and public organizations have been involved in drafting it, as was the case with the document in question. But the purpose of discussion by the people is to perfect draft laws and if possible get rid of those provisions that will not meet with the support of the majority of the republic's population.

Any unbiased person can see that the discussion of the draft laws on the forthcoming elections is taking place in a genuinely democratic atmosphere, which allows people to express their opinions and submit proposals. This is clear, in particular, from items published in the republic and local press. But this process is incompatible with any attempts to exert pressure, whip up tension, and seek to substitute emotion for reason. These methods have nothing in common with real democracy.

It is therefore very strange and quite unacceptable for the members of the interregional deputies' group, as is clear from an interview with USSR People's Deputy Yu. Sorochik in LENINSKA MOLOD, to present a demand in the form of an ultimatum: "If the relevant organs of power do not adopt the alternative draft, a boycott of the elections is to be called for, including strikes." And the day is set for a republic-wide rally—2 September—although the alternative draft itself is to be submitted by 1 September.

This is far more serious than mere emotion or even ambition. Everything is decided and planned in advance, despite the fact that the Legislative Proposals Commission and the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet will take account of some proposals and reject others before the draft election law is submitted for examination by the republic's highest legislative body. It is clear that the comrades are not interested in that. It seems that their main aim is to step up pressure and intimidate people. The most important thing is the desire to push millions of people into actions that could have unpredictable consequences. Especially since a number of the provisions of the USSR deputies' open letter are contrary to the USSR Constitution.

We have all seen the complex situation that the country was placed in as a result of the miners' strikes, which may have been justified, but were at the same time a danger to the economy. We know what efforts it took to prevent similarly extreme forms of protest by working people in other sectors of the national economy. We welcomed the USSR Supreme Soviet decision on the impermissibility of further strikes prior to the adoption of the USSR Law "On the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)." There was probably not one citizen of our country or republic who was

indifferent to this. We thought that this was also your position, as USSR people's deputies.

At a time when the republic, like the whole country, is trying to resolve such complex social and economic problems, a call for strikes is unjustified, and not only impermissible, but extremely dangerous from the political viewpoint. Particularly on the part of USSR people's deputies. We have already seen the results of haste in the formulation and adoption of such important documents as an election law, from the example of the Estonian SSR. So let us be more responsible for our words and actions, more reasonable and circumspect, as befits true politicians.

The democratization of society is not a simple process and cannot be achieved overnight. We are only moving toward a rule-of-law state. Along this path difficulties and problems undoubtedly arise and will arise. They cannot be removed by substituting ultimatums for calm, reasoned debate, which is what some participants in the meeting did.

We call on you, before putting forward such demands, carefully to consider the existing political and economic situation and to think about the possible consequences of an ill-considered approach to such an important political matter.

It is not helpful to resort to hints about who is more or less responsible to the voters. We all value their trust highly. All of us are worried that perestroyka is encountering considerable difficulties along its path in our republic. In this complex socioeconomic situation we, the people's elected representatives, must make joint efforts to involve people in constructive work, and must do much intensive work ourselves.

As for the draft election law, for our part we propose a broad dialogue on these questions. We are ready to meet with the USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine and discuss all the problems connected with the forthcoming elections to republican and local soviets. We all have a profound interest in this. It should be taken into account that the final ratification of the law rests with the deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet, under the existing Ukrainian SSR Constitution.

We repeat that we are fully aware of the enormous responsibility to tens of millions of voters that rests with us in this connection, and we will make every effort to ensure that the forthcoming elections in the republic are really democratic.

USSR People's Deputies: D.G. Bachinskiy, S.I. Gurenko, A.A. Zakharenko, V.N. Kalish, S.Yu. Karpenko, O.L. Malyuta, N.I. Khorolskaya, K.F. Chayka, N.A. Shibik; Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputies: T.I. Atroshenko, R.L. Barg, Yu.G. Bakhtin, A.F. Vasilyev, V.M. Gurtovoy, V.N. Dovgal, G.I. Dmitriyeva, V.I. Znoba, S.K. Kirillova, V.I. Kostenko, L.M. Kravchuk, V.V. Kuznetsov, A.Ya. Lada, I.I. Lukinov, M.I. Mazurkova, G.P. Platonenko, V.V. Pilipenko, Yu.L. Primachok, R.I. Sazanskaya, V.V. Skopenko, N.A. Sobol, P.M. Sukhoruk, N.F. Tatarskaya, Ye.I. Titarenko, E.P. Uyvari, N.G. Chumachenko.

[Editorial note] We cite here the full text of the letter from the group of people's deputies, from the newspaper LENINSKA MOLOD.

Open Letter From USSR People's Deputies From the Ukraine to Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputies

Dear comrades!
An important and critical stage is approaching in the life of our republic—the elections to the republican and local soviets. A draft Ukrainian SSR Law "On Elections of Ukrainian SSR People's Deputies" has been drawn up and submitted for discussion.

Ways of improving the draft election law are well known, from the results of the elections of USSR people's deputies and from items in the press. Public opinion is oriented toward a further democratization of the electoral system, millions of voters expect this, and the strike committees of the Ukraine demand it.

Here are our fundamental demands for the future law:

1. One man one vote, and no representation for social organizations;
2. Direct proportional elections to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet;
3. Direct elections of the republican president;
4. Elections on a contested basis (a larger number of candidates than seats);
5. Impermissibility of influence by electoral commissions on the formation of the body of deputies.

Thus the conditions are created for the adoption of a really democratic election law. This is also promoted by the alternative versions of the draft law and individual articles in it that have been drawn up.

Your work of preparing and adopting the election law must be founded on these positions, which meet the aspirations and demands of the republic's voters. This, in our view, also gives rise to a need to orient the standing orders for the forthcoming Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet session toward the discussion, article by article, of the draft election law, and voting by name.

Many of us, as USSR people's deputies and being aware of the importance of this time, will be taking part in the session's work, but the right to decide belongs to you—Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies.

Remember the enormous historical responsibility that rests with you, elected representatives of the republican parliament!

Yu. Koltsov, E. Tikhonenkov, B. Sushko, R. Bratun, R. Fedoriv, Yu. Sorochik, I. Vakarchuk, N. Ternyuk, V. Zakharov, V. Ivanov, L. Sukhov, A. Saunin, V. Zverev, Yu. Burykh, V. Zubanov, V. Chernyak, V. Karasev, V. Goncharov, A. Boyko, Yu. Donchenko, D. Lisnichiy,

Ye. Yevtushenko, E. Kozin, V. Yavorivskiy, L. Sandulyak, V. Grishchuk, A. Nazarenko, S. Konev, Ya. Bezbakh, A. Yaroshinskaya, N. Kozyrev, V. Chelyshev, S. Batrachenko, N. Kutsenko, Yu. Tsavro, D. Smirnov, T. Sidorchuk, S. Ryabchenko.

Gorbachev Addresses Award Winners 27 Sep

LD2709183789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] In the Kremlin today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev presented high awards of the motherland to a group of comrades. Before handing over the awards, Mikhail Sergeyevich said, in part:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] [Video shows Gorbachev standing next to Lukyanov in a large hall before a seated audience] Dear comrades: It may be that the present months and the next year or two are deciding what will forever determine our destiny, and, taking account of the part that is played by our state and our people in world affairs, the destiny of socialism too, and the direction in which the world will be going.

We have proposed a great deal. We have proposed to our people and to socialism—the people itself has, in fact, achieved this through its suffering—the idea of perestroyka. It is in motion. It has been grasped. But how many problems it has generated! How many new tasks we have to accomplish! It is within the capability of our people. Now that it has been emancipated, it has, perhaps, recognized itself for the first time, and we have all seen our society the way it really is. All this has once again [changes track]...These years have confirmed that our people possesses tremendous potential forces. Perestroyka today has set them in motion. And let us not be dismayed by the fact that what has manifested itself hee is what alarms us, what worries us, and what we must, in general, rid ourselves of. But the main thing is that people are in favor of a new form of life, of a good situation in the country, and of a person's feeling in good shape. Since that is so, comrades, I am convinced that we can now say that perestroyka will take place.

Yesterday, this perestroyka was being called a revolution from above. Well, whether that's so or not, we won't go into it now. Today, the idea of perestroyka, the policy of perestroyka, is supported by the most powerful force—by the movement of the working people, from below. The whole of society is in motion. That is the guarantee. I don't know who can take on the responsibility and say that no losses or mistakes of any kind will occur. They will occur. But there must be fewer of them, and I think thee will be fewer of them if, through the processes of democracy, through discussion of any problems, we find the most suitable solutions. There are no easy solutions nor simple solutions, and that presupposes that we must act now with a high sense of responsibility, with a high level of organization, and in a disciplined manner. You were talking about discipline. I think it is always necessary, especially nowadays.

It occurs to me that there is something else that it would be useful to say to you, since we all live by it, and you will, I think, understand me: that, of course, our perestroyka has given rise to great expectations. These expectations won't come from somewhere or other just like that. We must ourselves create our plans and our hopes. Well, it is particularly pleasant for me to be saying all this, surrounded as I am by people who have already done much for the country, and who will, I am sure, do a great deal more that is useful, necessary, and remarkable.

Once again, I cordially congratulate you all on behalf of the Central Committee and of the Supreme Soviet, and on behalf of the government and our people, and I wish you great creative successes, strong health, initiative, firmness of spirit, strength of spirit. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

New Central Committee Secretaries Interviewed

Yuriy Manayenkov

PM2709093589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with newly elected CPSU Central Committee Secretary Yu.A. Manayenkov by Correspondent Yu. Makhrin: "CPSU Central Committee Secretary Elected: Our Interlocutor—Yu.A. Manayenkov"—date and place not specified]

[Text] At the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum Yuriy Alekseyevich Manayenkov, first secretary of the Lipetsk oblast party committee [obkom], was elected secretary of the Central Committee. He has given his first interview to your PRAVDA correspondent.

But first, here is some brief biographical information about the new CPSU Central Committee secretary. He is 53. He is Russian. He graduated from the Michurin Fruit and Vegetable Institute and from the CPSU Central Committee's Higher Party School by correspondence. He began work as a collective farm member in 1955 (on the "Pobeda" collective farm [kolkhoz] in Tambov Oblast). In 1958 he became a journalist—a literary staffer, deputy editor, and editor of the rayon newspaper. He joined the CPSU in 1960.

He has been employed on party work since 1962: He was a rayon committee [raykom] instructor, secretary of a state farm [sovkhoz] party committee, and then secretary, second secretary, and subsequently first secretary of the raykom. In 1973 he began work at the Tambov CPSU Obkom as a department head. Later he was elected secretary and second secretary of the obkom.

In 1984 he was elected first secretary of Lipetsk party obkom. He is a CPSU Central Committee member and a USSR People's Deputy.

[Makhrin] Yuriy Alekseyevich, PRAVDA journalists have asked me to pass on their congratulations to you on your election as a CPSU Central Committee secretary and to wish you success.

[Manayenkov] Thank you, colleagues! And not so much for the congratulations as for the support and help in my work. Particularly since my election as Lipetsk first secretary 5 ½ years ago. PRAVDA has criticized the obkom's work style, but its analysis has been objective. Furthermore, I still receive letters even now in response to your newspaper's article in August 1986.

[Makhrin] The editorial office also receives letters on that. Readers ask: How are things in Lipetsk Oblast now?

[Manayenkov] I can answer them. The pace of development in industry, the agrarian sector, and housing construction is higher than the 5-year plan targets. Last year the agro-industrial complex made R550 million profit. Kolkhoz and sovkhoz profitability increased to 37 percent. In the first 3 years of the 5-Year Plan sugar beet sales were around 1 million tonnes above the plan; grain sales were 250,000 tonnes, milk sales 130,000 tonnes, and meat sales 40,000 tonnes above plan. Had enough of figures? If not, I'll mention another. In 1 year farms repaid R100 million in state debts and at the same time considerably increased the supply of produce to city dwellers' tables.

[Makhrin] Clearly the quality of that supply was by no means the least important factor in the last election, when 96.3 percent of the electorate voted for you?

[Manayenkov] Clearly that was so. In any event, during my meetings with voters I did not promise them a land of milk and honey to win their votes. And I had no well-wishers to furtively deliver a freightcar or two loaded with washing powder...

[Makhrin] Yuriy Alekseyevich, many people know about the procedure for electing a communist as secretary of a party committee. The discussions...

[Manayenkov] There were no discussions or inspections. It was a complete surprise to me when my name was mentioned right there at the plenum. I do not remember how I got up to the rostrum. Generally speaking, I can say from my own experience that Central Committee secretaries are elected at the plenum itself.

[Makhrin] What questions will you work on as secretary?

[Manayenkov] Like all Central Committee workers I shall work on party affairs. But I will be able to give a more specific answer when I actually get down to work, as it were.

[Makhrin] How was the news of your election as Central Committee secretary greeted in Lipetsk?

[Manayenkov] People there came up to me in the streets yesterday. I thank them for their kind words about the affairs of the oblast party organization. I thank them for their words of farewell. Essentially it all boils down to one thing: energetic support for the renewal called perestroyka.

Yegor Stroyev

PM2709115589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with newly elected CPSU Central Committee Secretary Ye.S. Stroyev by own correspondent I. Podsvirov: "Elected as CPSU Central Committee Secretary. We Talk to Ye.S. Stroyev"—date and place of interview not given]

[Text] As reported earlier, Ye.S. Stroyev was elected CPSU Central Committee secretary at the Central Committee September plenum. He gave an interview to a PRAVDA correspondent.

Ye.S. Stroyev was born in 1937. He is Russian and a graduate of the Michurin Fruit and Vegetable Institute and of the CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School. He started his working career on a collective farm [kolkhoz]. From 1963 onward he has worked in party and soviet organs, becoming Orel CPSU Oblast Committee [obkom] secretary in 1973 and working subsequently as party Central Committee inspector, and from 1985 as first secretary of Orel party obkom. He has been a member of the CPSU Central Committee since 1986. He is a USSR people's deputy.

[Podsvirov] Yegor Semenovich, your election to a new post was probably received with special interest by your compatriots in Orel Oblast. What are they saying in this context?

[Stroyev] It is difficult to give you a clear-cut answer. The telephone at the obkom is constantly ringing, telegrams are arriving from various parts of the oblast. Here is one of them: "Congratulations on your election as Central Committee secretary. I am pleased and proud of you, but at the same time I am overcome with sadness. V. Yenina, chairman of the 'Pobeda' kolkhoz." And this one is from P. Parkhomenko, a war and labor veteran: "You leave behind an Orel Oblast with awakened potential for progress along the path toward a consolidated economy and the implementation of the key tasks of perestroyka." Frankly, reading this is both flattering and uncomfortable. It will, of course, be necessary to bid farewell to colleagues with whom I have shared many difficult as well as happy moments. This has come unexpectedly for me. Furthermore, my wife is upset. She does not want to leave the region.

[Podsvirov] Are you getting ready to hand over?

[Stroyev] For the moment I am carrying on as before. Not for nothing do people say: "A day in fall means food for the year." A notable grain crop has been gathered in

the oblast this year. As for the gross grain harvest, we have already almost fulfilled the 5-year plan target. In September we will meet the annual target for milk production. Sugar beet harvesting is proceeding apace on the oblast's fields, although on some plantations work is being deliberately held back to give the beets a chance to attain maximum weight and sugar content. After all, what we need is sugar, a high-grade product, rather than "shock labor" as in the past for the sake of a ringing report...

[Podsvirov] What has produced the qualitative leap forward in Orel Oblast? Or was it just good luck, a happy coincidence of circumstances?

[Stroyev] There is nothing fortuitous, nor can there be, in man's relations with the land. God helps those who help themselves, as the saying goes. What has helped us above all are the new forms of labor organization, the introduction of leasing relations, and the intensification of agricultural production. I must say that the oblast party organization has also done a great deal to ensure skillful assimilation of leading experience and progressive methods.

We have been able to see from our own experience that the countryside is beginning to live a full life and that land will produce proper harvests if we manage to unleash people's initiative and make full use of the socioeconomic potential inherent in collective labor. Unquestionably, the so-called "Program-100," which includes channeling labor, material, and financial resources into low-profit farms which are lagging most, is also having a positive impact on efforts to restore the health of our countryside. In addition, a good tradition has been established in our oblast: Every year, on the basis of people's initiative, each rayon builds new settlements funded from its own resources. Usually, on 9 May, in a festive atmosphere, the first foundation stone of such settlements is laid, and by fall they are already handed over to the new occupants.

People are flocking to the new villages. They genuinely believe that the plans outlined are realistic. Hence also the first successes in implementing the food program. All these things are interconnected. If we manage to revive Russian villages, and our non-Chernozem villages too, if we manage to restore the power of the land and the responsibility of the grain-grower as its master, it will mean that the shelves in the stores will no longer be empty...

The process of renewing Orel Oblast villages has been actively joined not just by enterprises and organizations contributing money to the construction fund, but also by the public at large, the creative intelligentsia, and individual citizens. More than R10 million have already been paid into the account.

I have just been invited to another house-warming. Construction workers are handing over a new settlement in Khotynetskiy Rayon on the "Pobeda Oktyabrya" kolkhoz. If I can find the time, I will definitely go there. That is where my working career began, at first as an ordinary kolkhoz member, then as a team leader... Frankly, I owe everything to Khotynetskiy Rayon farmers.

[Podsvirov] You are talking as if you intended to live and work in Orel Oblast for a long time to come, Yegor Semenovich. Nonetheless, you are going to have to hand over. Have you found a worthy successor who will be able to continue what you have begun?

[Stroyev] Some time ago we held an anonymous poll among party workers as to whom they would like to see in the reserve for the post of obkom first secretary. The opinions converged essentially on one candidacy. The decision has now been adopted to discuss this question openly in party rayon and city committees. A specially set-up authoritative obkom group will then weigh up the "pros" and "cons." In my opinion, there must be no mistakes.

[Podsvirov] We congratulate you, Yegor Semenovich, and wish you success in your new field... Now the last question. In your opinion, which problems in the development of agriculture should be attended to first and foremost?

[Stroyev] Above all, we have to be radical about eliminating the acute problems. One of them is the severe shortage of labor resources, especially in Russia's non-Chernozem zone. For this reason we must be more resolute about giving the paramount attention to the human factor, to all-around concern for the peasant. The consumerist view of him as an agent who produces a specific quantity of produce must be discarded. We must ensure that he becomes the true rather than declared master of the land, the creator of his own destiny and of the good life.

PRAVDA on Plenum, Upcoming Congress

PM2709123589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Following the Path of Perestroyka to the 28th CPSU Congress"]

[Text] The party's main task as it starts its preparations for the 28th congress is to confirm its right to the vanguard role in society by acting vigorously and creatively and uniting and consolidating the forces of the people in tackling the vital problems of perestroyka. This was confirmed with renewed force by the work of the CPSU Central Committee September plenum, which ended the other day. As a result of a comprehensive, principled debate decisions of paramount importance were elaborated and adopted, determining the key areas of communists' work at the crucial stage of perestroyka and the party's nationalities policy in present-day conditions. The plenum resolved to bring forward the date of the next, 28th CPSU Congress and hold it in October 1990.

The decision to bring the congress forward takes into account communists' and party organizations' proposals and is dictated by life itself, the situation in the country, and the highly complex nature of the problems facing the party and Soviet state in the course of perestroyka.

Life is moving on rapidly, debunking many long-held views and stereotypes. It is now becoming apparent—and this has been demonstrated with crystal clarity by the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet session, and the current report and election campaign among the party grassroots—that we must make progress and seek new approaches and solutions. Our practice in implementing the cardinal measures elaborated at the 27th CPSU Congress and at the 19th All-Union Party Conference needs to be further interpreted and deepened.

"The country is literally abuzz with argument," educator F. Murtazin writes to PRAVDA from Yalta. "In the papers, at rallies, and in the home all you hear is discussion about what is happening to us and whether we are getting there. But the interesting thing is that, in both their abuse and their praise, people—whether "informals" or "formals"—are addressing the party. Do you sense the responsibility? And how vitally important it is for our political vanguard not to lag behind the democratization processes that are taking place everywhere!.."

This idea is a kind of chorus in many letters in the editorial mailbag. Indeed, it is logical: After all, it is on the party and its political and practical activity that people primarily pin their hope of success in future revolutionary transformations. That is why the party and its role in the country's life and destiny are the focus of the debates in society about ways to renew socialism and improve our union state, about the struggle against bureaucracy, about democratization and the humanization of all spheres of our life. In beginning today with the preparations for the next congress and launching a creative precongress debate, it is important to ensure that the debate is as constructive as possible and that it unites rather than divides people and helps consolidate both the party itself and all the public forces standing for perestroyka.

As was noted at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, the act of bringing the congress forward was dictated by the need, in view of the demands of the times, to tackle the urgent problems of our party's development and implement its thorough renewal as the political vanguard of society.

More than ever before we need initiative and independence, efficiency and creativity in work. The loser is the one who has not yet shaken off the habit of always looking over his shoulder, being overcautious, and invariably waiting for instructions and recommendations from on high. Some people complain, saying that the party's authority is waning, that we do not know where we are being taken, that we cannot see, as we used to, signposts telling us how to get from A to B. But isn't genuine prestige gained and established by concrete deeds rather than by grand slogans? And doesn't the party's real strength lie in the authority and combativity of its primary components and the activeness of ordinary communists? As for political signposts, are they not represented by the program decisions the party has been taking in recent years that cover essentially all aspects of perestroyka?

There is only one answer: The winner is the one who does not shrink from difficulties and complications, who marches boldly forward, without deviating from the proven path, without yielding either to those who would "apply the brake" and leave us in the past or those who get swellheaded and play to the gallery, putting forward and plugging ill-judged concepts. The key to success is consistent and purposeful organizational, political, and ideological work and reliance on accumulated experience and the views and backing of the masses. The party's words and actions and the sureness and stability of its stance, one might say, acquire decisive significance in a situation where profound and complex economic and social processes are unfolding and where there is an unceasing ideological and political struggle over the key problems of social development. The responsibility to the working class and to the entire people and for the country's future obliges the party to be particularly demanding of itself and to confirm through deeds its right to the vanguard role in society.

The desire for comprehensive democratization and openness in intraparty life is clearly discernible today in practically all components of the party. Speaking at meetings, participating in debates, and addressing party committees and newspaper editorial boards, communists and nonparty people are presenting constructive proposals on improving the Party Statutes and a number of program provisions demanding the legal enshrinement of those things that were outlined by the 19th party conference and all the valuable things that have become and are becoming part of party organizations' life today. Certainly, only collective investigation and collective thought will enable us to etch in the contours of new party statutes which will fully reflect the spirit of our revolutionary times, stimulate party perestroyka, and provide reliable guarantees of intraparty democracy.

One of the paramount tasks is that of fully reviving the principles of democratic centralism as Lenin understood them, presupposing an active, full life for all party organizations and their real independence, initiative, and creativity. These are principles that totally reject primitive discipline and blind obedience. They are principles ensuring communists' united action, based on common political and ideological positions and on the actual participation of all party members in the elaboration and implementation of its policy.

The Communist Party has an invaluable part to play in the transformation of the Soviet federation, in the implementation of the nationalities policy. From the very start

our party has been built and has operated as an organization of like-minded people, inspired by the ideas of proletarian internationalism, as a unified organization with a common program and Statutes that are binding on all its members. Internationalism has been and remains a very important element in our philosophy, the communists' ideological credo. But the party's internationalist principle in no way signifies any neglect of the interests and peculiarities of particular ethnic detachments. It is our duty to resurrect in their original, pure form the traditions and principles of the nationalities policy laid down by Lenin, enriching them with new content that corresponds to the realities of the modern era. It is our duty to take a firm stand on the platform elaborated by the plenum and to implement it, using the Leninist party's characteristic methods.

The next party congress is not far off—one year, more or less. The entire period will be packed with major political events and intensive work to further develop the economic and political reforms. We can look forward to the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the elections to republican and local organs of power, which will unbdoubtedly be a serious test for party organizations. In order to pass it with honor, every party organization must organize effective practical work to tackle the pressing problem of the life of society and of its cities, villages, and collectives.

As is known, as a result of numerous proposals from the grassroots it was decided not to hold party committee and bureau reports in those places where this is not stipulated by the statutes. This will enable people to concentrate on economic and political tasks and actual congress preparations. It is important to make maximum use of this opportunity and make every effort to to ensure that a change for the better is apparent in all spheres of our life in the very near future. A change in the economy, in the social, ethnic, and cultural spheres, in all things that affect Soviet people's living conditions.

Let the Central Committee September plenum documents and the preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress be a powerful stimulus for every party organization and for our entire party and give an effective boost to the solution of the tasks of perestroyka.

Supreme Soviet To Publish New Magazine

LD2709233489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1802 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Sep (TASS)—The magazine NARODNYY DEPUTAT [People's Deputy] will be published in the USSR from January 1990. It will be published by the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is stated in a decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that has been distributed here. This publication, which will have 18 issues a year, will be published in place of the magazine SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV [Soviets of People's Deputies].

The decision notes that the main task of the magazine NARODNYY DEPUTAT is to comprehensively cover the most important questions in respect of the theoretical and practical activities of the whole system of state power in the country.

The decision notes also that from January 1990 publication will be commenced of the weekly SOYUZ [Union]—a supplement to IZVESTIYA. The main areas for the future weekly's work will be to cover the life of the union republics, other national and state formations, and development of their economies, science, and culture, and the elaboration of questions regarding the combination of the interests of all nations and ethnic groups with the general interests and requirements of the country.

Continued Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Blockade

Troops Unload Cargo

LD2509132889 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Stepanakert September 25 TASS—The troops of the Interior Ministry's elite Dzerzhinskiy Rifle Division—dispatched to Nagorno-Karabakh from Fergana, Uzbekistan, and Sukhumi, Abkhaziya, the scenes of recent ethnic disturbances—have found themselves performing the unusual role of unloading food and medicines from army helicopters.

The Interior Ministry troops and other units deployed in the special administration region have been invited to handle vital cargo airlifted to the regional centre.

A total of 500 tonnes of cargo have been brought here since early September.

The head of the political unit of the special region's commandant's office, Colonel V. Skorobogatov told TASS:

"The troops are working under extreme strain. They protect water reservoirs and oil storages, secure the delivery of food and mail, unload helicopters and escort convoys of trucks carrying foodstuffs to Azerbaijani and Armenian settlements."

"Servicemen herded about 50,000 heads of sheep to wintering sites and harvested more than 50 hectares of grapes, vegetables and fruits," he added.

"We are worried about the growing aggressiveness towards servicemen on the part of irresponsible individuals," said Major- General V. Safonov, commandant of the special region.

"Provocateurs and scandal-mongers should understand that troops are not only seeking to prevent bloodshed. They are also providing the bare essentials to the population.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains extremely tense. The special administration committee for the autonomous region and the commandant's office are doing their utmost to defuse tension," he pointed out.

Cargo Arriving Via Air

LD2809094689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains very tense and explosive. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports:

[Omelchenko] There has never been such an intensive rhythm of work as there is today at Stepanakert Airport. Passenger and cargo aircraft and helicopters are flying in to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] from Goris, Kafan, Yerevan, Tbilisi, and Armavir. They are bringing all kinds of cargo to the people. For over a month now the NKAO's only link with the outside world has been by air. Because of the danger of travel on the roads, military patrols began accompanying road traffic on 18 July, and by about 20 August traffic to the NKAO was completely cut. Some 1,500 tons of freight vital to the autonomous oblast piled up on the Evlakh-Stepanakert Railway on the NKAO border. With no supplies available, production and building sites are at a standstill, while livestock starves and perishes due to lack of mixed fodder. The blockade is having its effect, both morally and physically, on all the inhabitants of the NKAO and the neighboring regions.

Apart from all the misfortunes and hardships of the blockade, the main thing is the hatred and alienation of the peoples—Armenians and Azerbaijanis—but to all appearances it serves the purpose of some people.

We are flying from Stepanakert to Goris with the crew of Captain Karlov's military helicopter. This is a recording we made at Goris Airport:

[Begin recording] [Marsakanyan] Vagram Lavrovich Marsakanyan, chief of Goris Airport, Armenian Directorate of Civil Aviation.

[Omelchenko] The work schedule at your airport has changed a bit lately, hasn't it?

[Marsakanyan] Of course it has.

[Omelchenko] How?

[Marsakanyan] The amount of work has increased quite a bit, before we would have 2-3 passenger flights, but now, as you can see, we have 18-20 and sometimes 22 flights a day. Mainly, though, we are carrying food to the NKAO; there is no other way.

[Omelchenko] Apart from food, what else are you carrying?

[Marsakanyan] Well, basically, everything needed for the national economy, anything we can put on the helicopters and planes—clothing, footwear, whatever the people need.

[Omelchenko] This helicopter is now preparing for departure. What are you carrying?

[Marsakanyan] Flour. Mardakert has not had any bread for 48 hours now, so we must take them flour.

[Omelchenko] Sergey Vasilyevich Karlov is the commander of the crew which flew from Stepanakert to Goris. What sort of flight was it today?

[Karlov] We have been flying to Stepanakert for something like 28 days. We make three flights a day. Mainly, we carry food, but we also carrying materials for enterprises so that they can continue to work and so that people can earn a living.

We have been carrying freight for the footwear factory and for the condensate works, because it has branches scattered all over Karabakh, and in order to coordinate all these activities the representatives must tackle all these matters together with us.

[Omelchenko] But that is not your main job here?

[Karlov] Of course not. We are here to protect public order. We are military pilots and we are fulfilling military tasks, but we must also help the people here, so we are carrying out such tasks.

[Omelchenko] Can you recall for us what happened yesterday?

[Karlov] Yesterday we landed a special assignment group to capture some people with weapons. [indistinct interjection by Omelchenko] Yes, in a mountain area we discovered two people with weapons and homemade explosives.

[Omelchenko] And you brought them back to Stepanakert?

[Karlov] That's right.

[Omelchenko] How do you see the situation which has now developed in and around Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Karlov] Well, it is a very complex situation. No one can say how long it will remain like this. [end recording]

[Omelchenko] Yes, indeed, the situation remains very complex here, and what is needed is not just the good wishes and the difficult work of the pilots, but also wise and urgent—that is the main thing—urgent solutions.

Warning Issued on 'Attacks' on Garrisons

PM2809090589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 8 Sep 89 p 4

["Garrison Command's Appeal"—KOMMUNIST headline]

[Text] In connection with the disturbances stemming from interethnic friction, the situation in the region has deteriorated lately. There have been attacks on sentries with the aim of stealing weapons and attempts to infiltrate the territory of military units and subunits and guarded installations.

The garrison command appeals to all citizens not to do anything which might be interpreted by sentries as an attack on the post or an attempt to infiltrate guarded territory.

This might result in irreversible consequences. Thus in connection with the disruption of gasoline deliveries and the ensuing shortage of gasoline, there have been attempts by individual citizens on the territory of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, acting either alone or in collusion with servicemen, to steal fuel from gasoline and lubricant dumps or military unit depots.

Unit commanders have adopted a package of measures to step up the protection of military installations and enhance the vigilance of servicemen on guard duty. The regulations include an order to sentries to use weapons without warning in the event of an obvious attack directed at them or the guarded installation. In real life provision cannot be made for all eventualities. Citizens may, without evil intent, stray into the vicinity of a military installation or come within the field of vision of a sentry. In such an event strict compliance with the latter's commands is a firm guarantee of forestalling a tragedy. Remember that if the violator does not stop and tries to approach the guarded installation or post, or to flee following such an attempt, the guard will fire a warning shot. If the violator ignores the command to stop even then, the guard will turn his weapon on him.

Such is the law which the sentry must interpret and implement unequivocally. We remind you that graphic signs regulating the movement of citizens in the vicinity of military installations are on display around these sites.

We ask you to observe the said demands. We urge the citizens of the republic to remain calm and display tact and restraint in their relations with the servicemen who are discharging their duty in protecting and defending military installations and to resolutely rebut any attempts to involve the populaton in actions which might end in loss of life or trigger a new wave of tension between the army and the republic's population.

[Signed] Garrison Command

Armenian Parliament Hits Blockade

PM2709135989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Bablumyan report under general heading "Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions": "Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet resumed its work 23 September. Deputies discussed the question of the worsening situation in the region. Armenian government head V.S. Markaryants delivered a report from the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and a program for overcoming the crisis. V.M. Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, reported to deputies on progress in the fulfillment of Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and Armenian SSR Council of Ministers resolutions on the settlement of refugees.

In their speeches, deputies offered an unambiguous appraisal of the intolerable attempts to use railroads and other communications as an instrument of strongarm pressure. Numerous examples were cited to illustrate the consequences of such steps, aimed at undermining the economy and wrecking the provision of normal life's supplies for the population in a neighboring republic. All this could lead to disruption and suspension of the construction of housing, schools, and medical and other crucial facilities in the earthquake zone.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to recognize at its next session the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's right to self-determination as expressed in the 20 February and 12 July 1989 decisions by sessions of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. Another resolution decisively condemns the organization of a blockade of the Armenian SSR and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast by the Azerbaijan SSR.

The session heard replies to deputies' questions by the Armenian SSR prosecutor and the republic's minister of internal affairs.

The deputies adopted a decision to adjourn the session's work and to assemble for their next sitting as and when necessary.

Judge Calls for Government Action

NC2709131489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1715 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Statement by (name indistinct) Khachaturyan, Ordzhonkidze district court judge, court counselor, and candidate of law sciences; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, neighboring Azerbaijan's continuing blockade of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] is an incomprehensible act. Trampling on morality and exploiting its geographical position for political purposes, Azerbaijan has cut the republic's lifeline—its lines of communication—during its most difficult time. This is overt and naked aggression against a sovereign Soviet republic. [passage omitted]

To put it mildly, the position of the highest Soviet party and government authorities is very strange. During the U.S. blockade of Cuba in 1961, the Soviet leadership tried everything to lift the blockade, almost at the cost of

war, and achieved its objective. Yet today when we face disaster, it utters no condemnation and makes no effort to lift the blockade. Not a single word has been said on the issue, not even during the CPSU plenum devoted to interethnic problems. The situation has not been examined by Azerbaijan or by the highest Soviet body. Azerbaijan continues to violate the Soviet Constitution and actively encroaches upon the sovereign rights of our republic. This is my legal assessment of the situation.

In this situation the USSR has violated the 81st Article of the Soviet Constitution which states that the USSR must protect the sovereign rights of the union republics. The USSR is not fulfilling its constitutional mandate as the guarantor of republic sovereignty. The 81st Article of the Soviet Constitution precludes the USSR from encroaching upon the sovereign rights of the republics and also mandates that the USSR take every measure to frustrate any such attempt. The USSR is obliged to fulfill its constitutional obligations and should take all legal measures against the unruly Azeris. It must immediately lift the blockade and hold Azerbaijan responsible for all losses incurred.

Correspondent Terms Blockade 'Barbaric'

LD2709155789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Live studio link-up with special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko in Stepanakert and studio presenter Pavel Kasparov]

[Text] [Kasparov] We have on the line our special correspondent in Stepanakert, Sergey Omelchenko. I believe he can hear me. Can you hear?

[Omelchenko] Yes, good morning.

[Kasparov] So, Sergey, good morning, we know that the situation in this region of our great country has been and is being discussed by the Supreme Soviet deputies—it is at the center of their attention. This was also mentioned by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his introductory speech when he opened the session. He said that certain deadlines have been set even for the government of our country as a whole and for local bodies to ensure that the situation is normalized. So my first question to you is: What is the situation like at the moment?

[Omelchenko] Well, at a superficial glance, the cities and settlements of Nagorno-Karabakh are normal. The situation is, thank God, calm for the moment. If there are raw materials and other materials, enterprises are functioning, children are attending school and special charity cafeterias have been opened now because the food situation here is quite bad. Whereas from Armenian reports, even though only slightly reassuring, are coming in about a weakening or even lifting of the blockade, here in Nagorno-Karabakh, unfortunately, the situation remains unchanged. As before, 1,500 railway wagons are standing idle on the railway from (Evlakh) to Stepanakert, carrying vitally important goods and materials. Traffic has also been brought to a halt on all the roads leading to Armenian settlements in Nagorno-Karabakh. Occasionally transport is accompanied under military guard to the Azerbaijan town of Shushu. The gas situation in the oblast is very bad and sometimes there is not even enough for the ambulances. This is why in agriculture the harvest of fine grapes is rotting. Here is a characteristic example: the interfarm association [name indistinct] in Askeran Rayon has almost completely stopped feeding livestock because the association's stores are empty. The last 40 tonnes of concentrated feed were received at the beginning of September.

Cargo, mainly flour, of course flour, other food products, fuel and medication are being brought in by planes and helicopters and the pilots are working tirelessly. Servicemen, in addition to their main duties of maintaining law and order, are helping bring in the harvest and in many other agricultural jobs are trying at least in someway to alleviate the difficult situation that has arisen in the autonomous oblast.

[Kasparov] Sergey, I can understand that, of course, it is very complex in a situation where transport is virtually at a standstill and where there are hold-ups in supplies, but what are the local authorities doing to normalize the situation in the political sense, let's say? Specifically, so as, ultimately, to avoid unpleasant incidents?

[Omelchenko] Unfortunately, apart from the leadership of the Committee for Special Administration, I have not noticed any movements toward solving this problem. Unfortunately, propaganda calling for the consolidation of forces and for reconciliation between the two peoples is, in my view, quite weak at the moment and, of course, extensive work in this area should be carried out not only within the oblast but, in my view, work should be conducted from the center as well.

Here, of course, some work is being done by officials on the Committee for Special Administration and local party and soviet workers, but this is far from sufficient, all the same, and besides this, it is taking place unilaterally because the blockade not only physical, that is, there is no traffic along the roads, but there is simply no communication between the Armenian and Azerbaijan peoples. This kind of mutual understanding, at least some slight mutual trust has to be achieved above all.

I would like to add: Who on earth had this crazy, simply criminal idea of blockading an entire oblast? I cannot get this into my head. I can't understand it at all; to force women, children, the elderly, the sick and powerless to suffer both morally and physically. The blockade is a barbarian medieval method of conducting war. It is not an acceptable way to resolve even the most complex conflicts in our civilized world and, all the more, in our state which has proclaimed the noble principles of democracy, legality and humaneness.

[Kasparov] As far as the present situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and in Transcaucasia as a whole is concerned, I would like to nevertheless, to return once again to

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech in which he said that our country's Supreme Soviet is generally seriously concerned about the situation and this situation is and will remain at the center of attention, and in the very near future ways of resolving this problem, this situation, must be found in the interests of all sides, as they say. Thank you Sergey, thank you. Let me remind you that that was a live link-up with Stepanakert where our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko is working at present.

Lvov Rounds Up Situation in Southern Republics

LD2209182889 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—By TASS news analyst Aleksey Lvov:

The past week was marked by continued tension between two Soviet Transcaucasian republics, Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Addressing the plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on the party's nationality policy, that was held on September 19-20, Mikhail Gorbachev said that national strife in these republics has flared up to such a degree that the development of the situation can have unpredictable consequences.

The word "blockade" sounded often in Armenia these days. The matter is that the bulk of cargoes for national economy, also food products, reach Armenia via neighbouring Azerbaijan. Extremist-minded persons in Azerbaijan took an unprecedented step: blocked highways leading to Armenia. Traffic on the railway has been paralyzed. It occurred to some that the widening of socialist democracy in the country means that anything goes.

Such actions can bring nothing but sufferings to thousands upon thousands of people in Armenia who experienced a devastating quake in December 1988.

Armenia's Supreme Soviet adopted an address to Soviet parliament, calling for urgent measures to end the blockade. Not a single republican or central newspaper came off the press in Armenia on Thursday [21 September]—the reserves of newsprint have been used up. Even the copies of PRAVDA with materials of the plenum were printed for Armenia in Moscow...

On behalf of the plenum, Gorbachev addressed the leadership and working people of Armenia and Azerbaijan with an appeal to stop, to realise that further instigation of the conflict will bring pernicious consequences for the two nations who had lived as neighbours for centuries and should contine to live in this way.

Addressing the plenum, Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the Special Administration Committee for Nagorno-Karabakh, made a profound analysis of the situation in the autonomous region and around it.

The problems that were discussed at the plenum in Moscow are of no less importance for Georgia which is inhabited by people of dozens of nationalties.

Quite recently, in the spring and summer of this year, the republic lived through tragic events connected with the aggravation of the inter-ethnic tension.

The situation in Georgia at present is much calmer than in Armenia and Azerbaijan, work is at usual pace, such is the gist of reports from Georgia.

An international consultative meeting in Tbilisi is discussing the problem of processing and storage of vegetables and fruit. The forum is sponsored by UNIDO, the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the Georgian Government.

Specific steps to ensure interests of various peoples of Transcaucasia, including national minorities, assume special importance in situation when inter-ethnic relations in the region aggravated.

The Kurdish Society was recently founded in Tbilisi. Those who instituted it, named it "Goman" which is the Kurdish for Hope. It is hope that was the lodestar for Kurds who found their second homeland in Georgia. Kurds have been living in Georgia from the 16th centruy, and there are almost 40,000 Kurds there now.

Physicist Yuriy Nabiyev, one of the society's founders, told reporters that the Kurdish Society regards as its main purpose the consolidation of efforts of Georgia's Kurdish population to develop national awareness and the Kurdish language.

NKAO National Council Goals Viewed

NC2109213489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] The Armenian television program in the series on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was this time devoted to the newly created NKAO National Council. Vachagan Grigoryan, chairman of the council, and council members Semyon Babayan and Oleg Yesayan, explained the factors that had necessitated the creation of the council, and discussed its objectives and the problems facing it.

The introduction of the special administration and the deprivation of the NKAO of the party oblast committee and oblast soviet had virtually cut the Armenian population out of any legal participation in the protection of its national interests. The special administration committee is not in a position to run the oblast. The people are on the verge of physical and emotional collapse; they have lost their belief in the country's leadership, which has no intention of solving the NKAO problem in a just manner.

The elected National Council will function until the reinstatement of the constitutional role of the new

administration. This council, set up with the will of the people, must resolve many current and future problems. To begin with, when the people realized that the National Council was working for their interest they returned to work after a prolonged strike. At present, there is strong cooperation between the council and the people. The council enjoys the people's faith and trust, which the Special Administration Committee was never able to gain.

The participants in the program spoke about the economic, political, and emotional damage caused by the blockade. At present there are 20,000 Armenian refugees in the oblast who, lacking basic living and working conditions, are leaving the oblast. The blockade is a calculated step by Azerbaijan. The Artsakh people have concluded from the blockade that has lasted for almost 2 years [as received] that Azerbaijan is being run by directives from the center, Moscow, and that this is being done to pressure the courageous people of Artsakh. However, the Karabakh people are determined to persevere. They will face everything and if need be they will struggle for the just solution of the problem.

The National Council has brought together all the public organizations whose sole objective is reunification with the motherland. In these difficult days, the speakers stressed, the domestic and international Armenian diaspora must support Artsakh because the NKAO problem is a pan-national problem.

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Condemns NKAO Congress

PM2709132989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Dzhalilov report under general heading "Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions": "Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] The final sitting of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet was held 23 September, following a week's break. The session adopted the Azerbaijan SSR Law "On the Azerbaijan SSR's Sovereignty."

It was noted that the adoption of this law will be of fundamental importance for the further development of the Azerbaijan SSR's statehood and for the republic's more active participation in the improvement and development of the Soviet federation, and will create reliable political and legal guarantees for fully satisfying the fundamental interests and requirements of the development of the Azeri people and the republic's entire multinational population.

The draft Law "On Citizenship of the Azerbaijan SSR" was submitted for examination by the deputies.

USSR People's Deputy E. Kafarova, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered a report on the republic's draft laws "On Amendments and Additions to the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution (Basic Law)," "On Elections of Azerbaijan SSR People's Deputies," and "On Elections to Azerbaijan SSR Local Soviets of People's Deputies."

An Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet resolution on this question was adopted.

The session set up a deputies' commission to investigate the incident in Agdamskiy Rayon's villages of Giyasly and Khydyrly and the case of a bus explosion outside the city of Yevlakh. A resolution was also adopted setting up a deputies' commission to work with persons forced to abandon their place of permanent residence.

The session also examined the question of the so-called "congress of plenipotentiary representatives of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast." This illegal action was condemned by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution dated 26 August 1989. The session adopted a resolution on this question.

AZERINFORM Protests 'Distorted' TASS Reporting

PM2709153189 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 10 Sep 89 p 2

[AZERINFORM report: "How AZERINFORM Information Was Edited"]

[Text] On 5 September AZERINFORM issued a roundup of reports under the headline "Not Overstepping the Mark" about events in Baku and the republic in recent days. The reports were published in full in the republic press 6 September. However, in the central press (PRAVDA, 6 September) this roundup appeared with substantial cuts.

It has emerged that in preparing the roundup for publication, TASS staffers thoroughly edited it, removing those parts of the material describing the causes which resulted in the exacerbation of the situation and setting out the demands put forward by both the strikers and those who did not take part in the strikes.

Thus, for instance, the following sentence was deleted from the statement given by Ye. Grinina, operator at the V.I. Lenin Novobakinskiy Petroleum Refinery, to an AZERINFORM correspondent at her workplace: "We representatives of many nationalities and peoples living in the capital of Azerbaijan view with understanding the demands of the public calling for genuine sovereignty to be granted to the republic and for order to be established in Nagorno-Karabakh, where the constitutional rights of the Azerbaijani population are being flouted." Similar "cuts" were also made to the brief interviews given by A. Guseynov, director of the Novobakinskiy Petroleum Refinery, and R. Ismaylova, Lenkoranskiy Brickworks party committee secretary. As a result the meaning of their remarks was thoroughly distorted and their truly civic stance was presented in a false light. And the main

point is this: Readers of the all-union press failed to grasp why the Baku workers are striking and what their demands are.

The TASS leadership has been notified of what has happened.

Armenian Refugee Situation Detailed

NC2409145889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Report on proceedings of the Armenian Supreme Soviet held in Yerevan on 23 September]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Vladimir Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the republic's council of Ministers, chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee, chairman of the permanent committee on the resettlement of the refugees, and deputy, delivered a report on the final point on the agenda. This pertained to the decisions adopted by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and republic's council of Ministers concerning the resettlement of the refugees and additional measures to improve the work in this connection. Referring to the most important aspects of that issue, Movsisyan said:

[Begin recording] The refugee problem is the most acute one facing the republic. As you know, at the previous session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, the republic's government gave a general review of the work being undertaken for the Armenian refugees who have abandoned their permanent residences. Allow me to inform you in greater detail about those measures which the republic's party, soviet, and economic bodies, public organizations, and the whole population have since undertaken in this direction.

The situation in the region and primarily the Sumgait crimes were the causes for the mass emigration and resettlement of the Armenian population. [passage omitted]

According to the present figures of the executive committees of the rayon and city soviets of the people's deputies, the total number of refugees who have come to the republic is more than 213,000 or nearly 56,000 families. The number of Azeris who have left Armenia amounts to nearly 153,000. A new wave of Armenian refugees started since 17 August 1989, following the publication in the Azerbaijan party organs of the provocative, irresponsible, and politically harmful appeal issued by the conference of Baku intellectuals. This appeal further exacerbated interethnic relations and made the voluntary return of the refugees impossible. It is infuriating that this call for battle so far has not received a principled party assessment both in Azerbaijan and in the center. During the last month alone more than 17,000 refugees came to Armenia. According to them, the anti-Armenian policy is still being pursued in Baku, Kirovabad, and elsewhere. [passage omitted]

Despite the grave situation they already confront, the Armenian people extended sincere help to our brothers. [passage omitted] Conditions have been created for the refugee students to continue their studies. They have already been provided with R 41 million assistance. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, and the republic's government are doing everything to normalize the situation in the region, to resettle the refugees, and to solve social problems. For this reason republican and interrepublican committees on refugee affairs have been set up, comprising party, soviet, judicial, and economic bodies and public representatives. An administrative body attached to the Council of Ministers has been set up in which many representatives of the refugees are also included. [passage omitted]

In line with decision No 321 of 15 April 1989 of the USSR Council of Ministers, our side has taken measures for the voluntary return of the citizens to their permanent residences under conditions of guaranteed security. However, proceeding from the fact that the overwhelming majority of the refugees definitely do not want to return to their previous settlement areas, fearing for their security, work is going on to provide them with permanent settlement and jobs and solve their social problems. Thanks to the measures taken, 108,000 individuals, or 27,000 families, have already exchanged or (?found) houses, and 36,000 persons have been placed in jobs. The pension problems of 21,500 persons have been resolved.

The rest of the refugees are temporarily settled in guest houses, motels, hospices, dormitories or with relatives and friends in various parts of Armenia. Today virtually no refugee is without shelter. However, it will be simplistic to think that the solution of this extremely complex problem has ended. Only the first steps have been taken so far. The housing problems of 105,000 persons and employment and other vital problems facing more than 50,000 able-bodied persons have been resolved.

Specifically it is difficult to solve the housing problems of the refugees. You are aware of the already extremely grave housing situation in the republic. Almost 514,000 persons are still homeless in the disaster area. Another 345,000 citizens had been waiting for many years to obtain housing. Naturally, at present it is impossible to provide individual housing to the refugees. It must be acknowledged that most of the refugees understand this problem. We must all tackle this grave situation together.

Under the present situation, the government is seeking realistic solutions for this complex problem. What concrete measures have been taken to alleviate the housing problem? Taking into consideration that the most [word indistinct] way out is the exchange of houses, the republic's government has allowed all types of house exchanges, including the exchange of personal houses for state houses. The refugees are allowed to obtain personal

houses in Yerevan; they are also allowed to obtain cooperative houses regardless of their ownership form. [passage omitted]

It must be noted that because of the fault of the neighboring republic the exchange of houses is proceeding slowly due to artificial impediments [words indistinct] being created. Another factor impeding this process is that most of the refugees were city dwellers who do not want to live in rural areas. [passage omitted]

The other realistic way to resolve the housing problem is the construction of more personal houses. [passage omitted] Already 300 hectares of land have been set aside for this purpose in such places as Ararat Valley. Another R5 million in long-term credits have been appropriated for the refugees in the Bakramyanskiy and Razdanskiy rayons. The work is continuing. However, the executive committees of a number of rayon and city soviets are acting in an irresponsible manner in plot allocations, creating delays and exhibiting a bureacratic approach. [passage omitted]

NKAO Komsomol Obkom Elects New Head

PM1909124989 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 26 Aug 89 p 2

[ARMENPRESS report: "On an Alternative Basis"]

[Text] A Nagorno-Karabakh Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Oblast Committee [Obkom] Plenum has been held to examine an organizational question.

The plenum relieved M.Sh. Musayelyan of his duties as first secretary and member of the Komsomol Obkom Bureau in connection with his departure for postgraduate training at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

Onik Mesropovich Osipyan, who worked previously as Komsomol Obkom secretary for propaganda and agitation, was elected first secretary of Nagorno-Karabakh Komsomol Obkom. The elections were held on a multiple-candidate basis for the first time, with two candidates and a secret ballot.

The plenum also elected Sergey Anastasevich Avanesyan, who previously worked as head of the Komsomol Obkom Komsomol Organizations Department, member of the Obkom Bureau and secretary for propaganda and agitation.

S.Ya. Snezhkov, senior official at the All-Union Komsomol, took part in the work of the plenum.

Informals Linked With Novosibirsk Crime

PM1509115389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[A. Gamov article: "What Do Statistics Hide? The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee Discusses the Reasons for the Rise in Crime"]

[Excerpts] Party organs and the mass media have recently received many alarming letters whose authors rightly ask the following questions: To what are we to attribute such a rapid rise in crime in our country? Who is responsible for it? What work are the party, soviet, and law-enforcement organs, among others, doing to stop this dangerous wave which is engulfing our cities and villages and to improve the situation? It is no coincidence that it was these questions, which concern everyone, that were included on the agenda at the recent routine session of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. It discussed the unsatisfactory work on the part of the communist leaders of Novosibirsk Oblast's law-enforcement organs to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee resolutions on resolutely stepping up the fight against crime and strengthening socialist legality and law and order.

They were no chance targets. The point is that the level of crime in both Novosibirsk itself and the oblast as a whole considerably exceeds statistics for both the Siberian region and the country as a whole. A particularly alarming situation took shape here late last year and in the first 6 months of this year. Here are just some figures: In the first 6 months of 1989 13,600 crimes were recorded in the oblast, representing an overall increase of 38 percent in comparison with the corresponding period in 1988. The number of killings, robberies, thefts, and rapes has risen. It is especially sad that 1 in 3 crimes and 1 in 2 robberies and burglaries are committee by minors. [passage omitted].

A. Zhuchkov, secretary of the CPSU oblast party committee [obkom], stated approximately the following at the Party Control Committee session:

"The rise in crime in the oblast is in many respects linked with the high degree of social tension, brought about in turn by the ever-worsening shortage of goods and services." [passage omitted].

I cannot help but say something else about a problem whose solution depends in many respects on the leaders of party and law-enforcement organs. I am referring to their cooperation with so-called informal groupings. At the committee session the people of Novosibirsk voiced a rejoinder to the effect that they are supposedly conducting thoughtful work in this area and have not as yet permitted a single acute situation. However, the facts presented for the committee's examination present a different picture...

The city of Berdsk and Sovetskiy Rayon in Novosibirsk (Akademgorodok) are in effect today the centers of

Siberia's informal movement. The oblast numbers a total of more than 100 such organizations. But that is not even the cause of the trouble; the trouble is that some are clearly anti-Soviet. At the same time local party committees have lost their heads in the face of pressure from demagogues and extremists. Things have reached the point where the first secretary of Berdsk City CPSU Committee [gorkom], alarmed by attacks from "informals," decided to quit his post. The second secretary stated that he is a mere "technician" with no inclination for party work.

All this once again illustrates that rayon party committees and gorkoms have lagged behind the demands of the time and are organizing their work, including work to strengthen socialist legality and law and order, in the old way. The oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom], which should coordinate the activity of law-enforcement organs, public commissions, and labor collectives in the fight against crime and antisocial manifestations, is also marking time. The CPSU obkom has adopted many decisions on all these questions of late. However, it has been simply unable to organize and supervise their fulfillment—the crime situation has not only not improved but has even deteriorated still further. The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has issued A. Zhuchkov, secretary of Novosibirsk CPSU Obkom, and V. Kosourov, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom, with strict reprimands for all these omissions. Strict party proceedings have been instigated against A. Kashutin, chief of the Novosibirsk Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration; A. Nikolayenko, secretary of the Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Party Committee; G. Shugarov, chief of the Novosibirsk City Soviet Executive Committee [Gorispolkom] Internal Affairs Administration; and V. Vlasov, oblast prosecutor for violations in their work. I. Indinok, chairman of the Novosibirsk Gorispolkom, has been issued with a strict warning. But the punishments are not the intrinsic purpose. I would like to hope that the discussion will serve as a good lesson to the leaders of the oblast and city party, soviet, and law-enforcement organs in their work to reduce crime and strengthen socialist legality and law and order.

Moldavian Workers Said 'Tired of Strikes'

PM2709152789 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Sep 89 p 2

[Own correspondent P. Rashkov dispatch: "Toward Stabilizing the Situation"]

[Text] More than 30 industrial enterprises in Tiraspol which had come out on strike in connection with the adoption in the republic of the Law on Languages resumed work 21 September. They did so in response to an appeal by the joint republic and city strike committees to suspend the strike in view of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Party's Nationalities Policy in Current Conditions." Among the first to resume work in the city were the refrigerator truck plant, the glass container and electrical equipment works, and a number of other major enterprises. Work in the city is resuming gradually. It is expected that Tiraspol industry will regain its normal rhythm in the course of the week.

The development of the situation in Bendery is taking a slightly different course. The strike here is still continuing. However, a city-wide meeting of representatives of the striking collectives held yesterday decided to suspend the strike at all enteprises as from 25 September.

Let me recall how the events developed. By the end of last week most Moldavian enterprises had resumed work, with the exception of labor collectives in Tiraspol and Bendery, which were continuing the strike. The labor rhythm began to gradually return to normal in the republic and the situation began to stabilize. However, on Monday, in response to the appeal of the joint republican strike committee, many of the enterprises which had suspended the strike came out on a warning strike.

What was the reason for this latest alarming action? V. Rylyakov, cochairman of the joint republican strike committee, says that the committee was forced to take this step at labor collectives' demands as a sign of protest against the statement by certain republic leaders on Central Television—to be specific, to the effect that the situation in Moldavia was stabilizing allegedly as a result of measures which they had taken.

In actual fact, in the opinion of the strike committee, labor collectives had suspended the strike for another reason: First, in response to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's appeal, and second, in connection with the CPSU Central Committee plenum which was about to open and has since ended. And there was a third factor which influenced this decision: the fact that sessions of soviets of people's deputies in the said cities had suspended the validity of a number of articles of the laws on languages on the territory of their soviets and had called for an end to the strike and a switch to parliamentary methods of struggle.

These facts once again bear out a simple truth—namely how important it is in a complex and explosive situation for everyone who can affect the development of events in the republic in any way to show restraint, to thoroughly consider every step, and weigh up every word before presenting it to a wide audience. People are tired of strikes, tired of swinging from one extreme to another. They had barely resumed work when there was another call to strike. Understandably, the decision to return to work has been received with great relief. It remains to be hoped that the critical situation in Moldavia will be fully overcome in the near future.

Moldavian Strikers Urged To Return to Work

PM2709160389 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 10 Sep 89 p 1

["Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Appeal to Communists, Workers, and Engineering and

Technical Staff of Striking Enterprises and Organizations in Connection With the Situation Which Has Taken Shape in the Republic"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is deeply concerned at the sociopolitical situation which has taken shape in the republic and the continuing strikes at many of the republic's enterprises and organizations, and deems it necessary in this connection to appeal to the Communists and members of all the labor collectives in which the work rhythm has been disrupted.

It is obvious right now that perestroyka has created a new type of social relationship which is by no means devoid of its own contradictions; however, its main gain is the rapid growth of people's political and national awareness, the overcoming of social apathy and alienation, and the involvement of the broad masses in the country's sociopolitical life.

At the same time, the real freedom of speech, the right to express one's own opinion and viewpoint granted by perestroyka, also presuppose a high sense of responsibility on the part of every labor collective and every worker, and a balanced approach to all the problems that may arise. Unfortunately this is precisely what we are sometimes lacking. On the eve of the 13th Session, 11th Convocation, of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, many labor collectives in the cities of Tiraspol, Bendery, Rybnitsa, Kishinev, and others, in order to demonstrate their disagreement with the draft language laws which have been published, declared a strike for political motives and submitted a number of demands to the republic organs.

Despite the peaceable aspirations of the strike participants, the strikes that were called could not fail to bring about a further exacerbation of the sociopolitical situation and a sharp deterioration in the state of the republic economy.

The atmosphere on the eve of the session and during its proceedings was also made more complex by the considerable galvanization of various informal associations employing far from democratic methods in the pursuit of their aims.

The 13th Session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, whose proceedings were followed by most working people, took place under the sign of great activeness on the part of deputies and adopted, in accordance with the law, documents which are of fundamental importance for the Moldavian people and representatives of all the nationalities living on the territory of the republic.

The adopted laws do not infringe citizens' constitutional rights. They guarantee citizens of any nationality their inalienable right to the development of their own language and culture.

It goes without saying that the new laws are probably not absolutely perfect; however, time and social practice are needed to ensure their correct application and interpretation. It seems unwise to reject certain of their provisions out of hand. Therefore, in the prevailing situation it is difficult to condone the continuation of the strikes in the republic even though the session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet has ended.

The situation in the country today is complex, there is an acute shortage of essential goods and food products, and there is not enough housing. The politically motivated strikes are further exacerbating the situation in the present circumstances. As a result of the stoppages at a number of enterprises, the republic has lost hundreds of thousands of man-days of work time, and the shortfall in industrial output runs into tens of millions of rubles. It will be difficult to make up these losses which, unfortunately, are still growing.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is seriously concerned by the fact that the appeals to end the strike issued by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Supreme Soviet commission which has arrived in the republic to study the prevailing sociopolitical situation have been ignored.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, understanding and sharing the concern of the striking collectives and all the republic's working people at the exacerbation of the political situation, the escalation of nationalist, chauvinist, and extremist manifestations, and the anti-Russian and anti-Moldavian statements and other provocative appeals that have rung out, intends to hold a Central Committee plenum in the near future to discuss the situation in the republic. You may rest assured, dear comrades, that a principled party assessment will be made of all the negative phenomena, that concrete measures will be outlined to stabilize the situation, and that everything will be done to ensure an atmosphere of mutual respect and goodwill in our common multinational home.

Serious analysis of the processes under way in the republic and the elaboration of effective measures to stabilize the situation demand a calm atmosphere and a return to normal working. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee appeals to all workers, employees, and engineering and technical staff at the striking enterprises to return to their workplaces, resume work, and refrain from holding mass events.

We appeal to all Communists at striking enterprises and party veterans to set an example and to exhort their comrades to be reasonable. The friendship and cohesion of all the nations and ethnic groups resident in our republic depends on your political activeness and your concrete and businesslike approach to explaining the party's current platform on the nationalities policy.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee calls on all party city and rayon committees, local soviets, and party, trade union, and All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] organizations to make an in-depth and exhaustive assessment of the

prevailing situation and to adopt the necessary measures to restore normal life and work in every labor collective. In this complex situation it is necessary for all of us to do everything necessary to ensure people's tranquillity and to prevent the spread of rumors and insinuations aimed at kindling interethnic strife.

It is not possible to postpone the resumption of work any longer—the country is suffering, the republic is suffering, and every striking enterprise and worker is suffering. The strikes are also affecting the collectives which are not on strike: Reciprocal deliveries are not being met, the work rhythm of the entire economic organism has been disrupted. An alarming situation has taken shape in the republic's agriculture at the moment: A good harvest has been grown which must be gathered and delivered to consumers.

We call on all of you, workers of striking enterprises and organizations, to become filled with a high sense of responsibility for the fate of perestroyka in our republic. Only the conscientious, harmonious work of all labor collectives without exception can ensure the implementation of all the tasks confronting us.

Distrust of Moldavian Language Law Analyzed

18001600 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Sep 89 pp 1-2

[Article by V. Letov, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA's own correspondent in the Moldavian SSR: "Before and After the Session" under the rubric "Opposition's Dead End"]

[Text] The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] in Kishinev lasted 4 days, twice as long as scheduled. The Moldavian opera building, where the deputies met, stormed with not-at-all theatrical passions.

During these days, agitated thousands, restrained by the militia, overthrew some individuals, if only in words, and extolled others. The session went on and debates leaped out onto the plazas. Moldavia is today shaken by strikes. They consume an economy that is powerless even without the strikes, and nevertheless are called political. Thus the strikers are expressing their disagreement with the decisions of the session.

Those who spoke called the session historic and fateful. Our love for epithets is from earlier days. Is the word "session" by itself less weighty than more exalted forms? It signifies an examination not just for the student. Here a parliamentarian examines the nation itself. What is the matter?

The session passed a law on language—a document, which for almost 2 years wore down pens, and now breaks spears. Moldavia is being overcome by emotions suitable only for meetings. People yell, hearing only themselves. What is going on? "A renewal of society," I heard.

A commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet came, but mutual understanding did not. And seemingly will not come soon. One way or another we shall have to search for compromise, but let us look into the sources of our own ferocity and let us begin with common sense, not with residents' rights.

Moldavian became the official language in Moldavia and on a par with Russian, also a language of interethnic relations. The graphics have changed too: Cyrillic, which served to teach Moldavians faith and truth for many years, now has to yield to the Latin script.

Some see in this a triumph of equal rights; others, a narrowing of the rights of man. Let us look into extremes of the varying demands: official languages, two; Latin script, no; lingua franca, Russian. Besides, there are more liberal variants. But one way or another, what we see are the opinions of the uncompromising.

Let us also look into the situation at the session. A language which, in its origins, goes back to the sources of people's Latin returns to the script of Romanesque languages. That is the first thing. Second, Moldavian, a language spoken, whether badly or well, by two out of three living in the republic, is called official. This is logical and fair. How could it be otherwise? We do not live in the middle of Russia, but in a national republic, and the soul of its language must be respected so that we may be respected. Third, in this connection, why should an official language, after it recovers from the long disease of assimilation, not stand on a par with Russian in the intercourse of peoples? Let us agree that Moldavian would wilt in the heavy shade of Russian, a great and mighty language, a language of the United Nations. As a matter of fact, the republic has no technical language, a twisted administrative one, and officials frequently read their speeches from a scrap of paper by the syllable. Latin died at the beginning of history. Moldavian, its Eastern relative, is dying today. Who is in favor of this progress?

If one were to delve into the documents of the session without preconceptions and suspicions, one must admit its maximal effort, having raised one to the status of official language by means of the law, to not demean the others, of which there are quite a few in Moldavia. "May justice triumph" was a refrain, almost an incantation, heard in all speeches at the session.

"People have lost faith in justice," engineer P. Skripnichenko from Tiraspol stated at a meeting after the session.

On this point the striking Tiraspolitan is absolutely right. He surely has reasons to distrust paper guarantees. It is a different matter that this is no reason for striking.

And yet, why does the engineer not trust the law?

What is trust composed of? Of a mosaic of proofs. A meeting called by the Peoples' Front of Moldavia 2 days before the session was called a great national gathering.

The gathering was truly great in terms of the number of participants who arrived from all regions of the republic and according to the tasks put before it. And the very first was the following: "May peoples live in friendship and with mutual understanding." But what about the slogan "Mother Russia, take back your lost sons?" What about the inflammatory speech of the representative of the Peoples' Front of Latvia, who called Russian the language of occupiers and in that same Russian gave recommendations to the same great gathering on how to exile "migrants?" On the tribune were many leaders of the republic and people's deputies of the USSR. They remained silent, as they were silent at the congress in Moscow: a school of silence. At the session the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Moldavia, M. Snegur, answered a deputy's question that, regrettably, he had not seen any provocative slogans or heard any inflammatory speeches. But why did the others not see or hear?

Well, let it be myopia. Some have it physically, others politically. But Ion and Ivan stand on the curb with posters which I did not invent. On one: "We are not in the UAR [Republic of South Africa]." On the other: "Worker, remember, do not strike. The Moldavian peasant will not feed you for nothing." Former friends oppose each other. Confrontation. They stand, for the time being squeezing not fists, but staves. Who are they? Could they be chauvinists and nationalists, as the press hurried to determine? Maybe simply people united in the right to a dialogue even behind a glass of peasant wine?

Faith in justice is not lost in a day....

An honest analysis is needed. And during all 4 days of the session, which stretched into the night, I waited and waited for somebody in a position of power to get up and say the "right" party word. No, not a confession, not an admission of own guilt, not to beat himself on the chest, but simply, without epithets and statistics, to analyze all the mistakes and failures of the former day. This is needed above all for the young, who sat silent at that session, turning away from everything. Elementary school of silence? No, school of inertia.

USSR People's Deputy Nikolay Dabizha calculated that during the years of Soviet rule, just under half a century, language was decreed in Moldavia about 168 times. And each time they called for raising its standard. Then why did languages wither, museums close? How did it happen that the separate Gagauz language of the people living in the south of the republic came down to almost nothing? Now they are demanding autonomy inside the republic without having a language for such autonomy.

The torrent of words is most cruel to those who swim with the current. All good intentions drown, and what rises are only reefs of obstacles.

It is strange that about 3 years ago talk began about genuine bilingualism in the republic, but the strikers insist they were not given time to study the documents under preparation. Let us agree that 3 years is time enough for familiarization. What was it wasted on in the republic? Now, while preparing by degrees the 169th (I shall take the deputy at his word) resolution on language, which, I repeat, is called fateful, we should work out jointly the strategy and tactics of the struggle for the human soul. Let us propose going to the people for advice. Open literacy courses in the Moldavian language for those who want them. Let us graduate adult teachers in sufficient numbers. Let us not build pompous buildings for meetings and receptions, but rebuild the shacks called theaters.

At the session, the minister of peoples' education, Deputy Zidu, a fast talker—the interpreter could not keep up—announced as an accomplishment that this year groups of future adult education instructors of Moldavian were gathered at preparatory institutions and the university. How many and when will the individuals receive their diplomas? In the meantime the session started counting time for bilingualism. In word creation, things sour just like pickles in a barrel....

Time was wasted in order to sow disbelief through newspapers and the screen about what is now referred to in all kinds of superlatives—the state status of the language, the Latin script, lingua franca. And 3 years therefore became 3 months. And in the end it turned out that the national language is perishing because electrical energy specialist Ivan did not learn at his government regional electrical station that "light" in Moldavian is "lumine" and that "current" is "kurent."

Time was wasted on cabinet disputes and on cutting off new opinions, as a result of which the confrontation spilled over into the collectives, and the engineer from Tiraspol does not know which supervisor's words to trust—yesterday's or today's.

Lately the leaders of the republic travel "to the people," attempting to reciprocate their trust, and their speeches partly drown in cries of ignorance. That is the wages of sin. USSR People's Deputy Ion Drutse used to say that his countrymen, Russians and Moldavians, all these years built a great common house, and now it pains him to see how it is being wrecked. They destroy, darkening their bright day with suspicions and fear.

The republic is shaken with decibels and emotions, and in this light everything dwindles, even common sense. Analysis is needed. Trust is needed that the law is the law and that nobody uses it to upholster their well-earned armchairs with velvet.

The session has ended. Its echo still reverberates from the local copse [last word in Romanian].

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet To Investigate 1939 Pact

LD2709114789

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0920 GMT on 23 September broadcasts live coverage of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session. The

session discusses the third item on the agenda, which is information on the work of the commission set up by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet to investigate the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and its consequences.

Although the conclusions of the commission's work have been published and are therefore known to the deputies, J. Pozela, chairman of the commission, made a report on the commission's findings. Various deputies then took part in a debate on the report. The majority of deputies voiced the idea that history could not be treated solely as a matter of the past, and as having no relevance to the present day or the future of the nation, thus stressing the importance of the events of 1939 in Lithuania.

Deputy Zalys said that in 1940 the Seimas in Kaunas had no legal powers to adopt such decisions as joining the USSR; equally this Supreme Soviet session has no right to adopt a decision, say, on the secession of Lithuania from the USSR, Zalys said.

Following the debates' conclusion, the chairman of the session proposed that the house vote on the draft decision of the Supreme Soviet session on the findings of the commission. However, the text of the decision was not read out as the deputies had the decision on the tables in front of them.

After the vote, the chairman said: "Therefore, this historic decision has been adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes." A total of 274 deputies out of 293 present voted in favor of the decision by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet commission to investigate the 1939 Molotov-Rbbentrop pact and its consequences for Lithuania.

Vilnius Communists Express Unease at Events

PM1509105189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[T. Karyakina report: "We Do Not Have the Right To Be Naive; Meeting With Vilnius Party Activists"]

[Text] The people who had gathered at the party committee of one of Vilnius' industrial enterprises joked unhappily before the start of our conversation: "The underground committee for the defense of soviet power in Lithuania is in partial session." At the meeting the leaders of the party committees of the capital's major enterprises and members of the Vilnius party gorkom [city committee] and party raykoms [rayon committees] introduced themselves by name. But they asked that the names of not all my interlocutors be given, if possible. This was not cowardice but a precautionary measure.

A. Golozov:

People say that there is a dyarchy here in our republic. That is a delusion. We clearly have a single power here: uncrowned kings, an unofficial president, and their own large-scale press. There is a weekly, for example, GIMTASIS KRASHTAS, whose editor is USSR People's Deputy A. Chekuolis. In the 32d issue (10-16 August) the weekly carried an interview on page two with a member of the organizing committee for the revival of the Social Democratic Party, who is a biophysicist and head of department at the Vilnius State University. Asked by the correspondent whether there are many who sympathize with his party, he replied: Not yet, because everyone in Lithuania is very afraid of the word "socialism." But why, the interviewee asked himself, is Moscow-style socialism seen as the only option? Surely we do not have to fell a good, healthy tree simply because two of its branches—the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini and Leninist-Stalinist Bolshevism—degenerated? These political adventurists paraded a beautiful idea simply in order to fool people.

This was a statement made in the party press. I say "party press," because the leader of this organ is a member of the CPSU. We, too, are members of the CPSU. But we are divided by an abyss...

If we go back to the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, at which we issued our own statement in response to a statement from Moscow, I will say this: The document was constructive on the whole. Attempts were certainly made to word it in such a way that it could be the basis on which some forces—one would like to believe healthy forces—would consolidate. But I personally am put on my guard by the closing phrase of the statement, which says that Lithuanian Communists are fully resolved to continue along the path of perestroyka and abide by the principles formulated at the 18th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. But it was precisely the 18th plenum that contemplated taking a step toward a split. Because it predetermined a decision to leave the CPSU. Of the 19 speakers, only 2 (of whom I was one) opposed the motion. All the others responded positively to the idea of the Lithuanian Communist Party withdrawing from the CPSU. This was not stated openly in the resolution adopted, but the question of a debate was raised and a congress was planned, which is to be held in December.

V. Antonov:

I would not talk of the idea of a split on national principles or not on national principles. This interpretation is only to the benefit of the nationalists, and I know that there are quite a lot of Communists of Lithuanian nationality who do not support the idea of an independent, sovereign Lithuanian Communist Party. But they are afraid to say this aloud, because the tactics of moral terror and pressure against those who think differently have been perfected by the press.

I believe that, as a political force in the republic, the party does not have the right to show political naivety in the face of real political competition. Just think about it for a moment: The Lithuanian Democratic Party has already held a congress here in the republic, there has

been a conference of those who support the Social Democratic Party, and it is common knowledge that seven political organizations are getting ready to announce their existence. We really must take our own stand in relation to these political rivals. And it goes without saying that our stand must be Bolshevik. After all, while party organs temporize, the ideologues of the People's Front are not wasting any time.

Voice from the floor:

Comrade Berezov, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, once addressed a conference at the party gorkom. He said: Yes, an independent Lithuanian Communist Party will certainly be formed, and it will naturally lose a number of Communists. How many might that be? Well, 20-50,000. Where does this figure of 50,000 come from? The figure is very easy to explain if you consider that there are 200,000 registered Communists in the republic, of whom some 25 percent are not Lithuanian speakers. You see, it is virtually programmed that the newly established Lithuanian Communist Party, which will be outside the CPSU, will be rid of non-Lithuanians. No one sees anything terrible in this.

V. Antonov:

We are often invited to the party gorkom, where they say: Let us put our heads together and come up with a plan so that the party gorkom can take a more active stand. We need a plan of action, they say. But now, it seems, no plan of action can possibly be drawn up for the party gorkom, because it no longer represents like-minded people...

I. Kuts, instructor in the Vilnius Lithuanian Communist Party Gorkom:

I feel that, as representative of the gorkom, it is time I joined in the discussion. It is indeed true that the city party organization has been split on the nationality issue for more than 2 years now. But this process did not begin yesterday, a year ago, or even 2 years ago. Excessive bureaucracy, centralism, and edict methods, which have been practiced for a long time now, have meant that essentially party committees at both rayon and city level and also the Central Committee have been principally composed of people who are merely capable of doing as they are told. When, following the 19th party conference, the CPSU Central Committee adopted a course of democratizing internal party relations, we found that there was no one in the republic to put these ideas into practice.

People now suffer most from the fact that they have lost their bearings as regards values. They are being swamped with a mass of accusations and various distorted versions of the history of the party and the historical development of the republic and certain individuals who were among the founders of the republic's Communist Party. But there are no party assessments of this information. Our party leaders appear to have taken cover with the intention of sitting it out. Basically, Communists are being totally disoriented. It must also be said that this year even primary party organizations have not been as active or as principled as they should. There have been letters and isolated statements. But when it has come to action, to the raykom and gorkom plenum, these voices have not been as resolute and principled. You can understand why. At present, for example, just over 70 percent of the party gorkom are leaders of soviet and economic enterprises and organizations. Every one of them has their official position in mind when determining their stance.

What do I see as the solution? First of all, we must put forward a new party aktiv. Is that possible? It is likely to be problematical. Because, as we have already said, sober-minded people do not have access to the mass media. Even a group of leaders of the city's largest party organizations is unable to express their opinions in the city's party newspaper—and this is the organ of the party gorkom!...

Voice from the floor:

Essentially, the mass media are no longer in the hands of the Communists.

S. Vorobyev:

That is true. Even our own plant newspaper has ceased to be published, for example. In March the publishing house of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee asked us to temporarily look for another publisher because, so they explained to us, they were overloaded and short of printing facilities. But they promised us that everything would have stabilized by September and that they would bring us back. We have a print run of 2,000—half in Lithuanian and the other half in Russian. The Lithuanian telegraph agency ELTA agreed to lay out the newspaper and another printing plant agreed to publish it. Two issues were published in Russian. "Sajudis" kicked up a real fuss: How, they said, could DOMOSTROITEL possibly be published in Russian when the state language is Lithuanian?! So the newspaper began to be published exclusively in Lithuanian. Then it ceased to be published altogether... And now I have learned from the republic's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA that our party publishing house is printing newspapers for various informal movements, in particular those of Belorussia and Moldavia...

Well, and how are we living? "Sajudis," the main engineer of the Law on Language, can now reap the fruits. Half of our collectives are Russian speakers. They used to switch from Lithuanian to Russian and back again when they talked without even noticing. But now the priority given to Lithuanian is being taken to extremes. The other day, for example, a report meeting was held in the shop's party organization. Of the seven Communists present, three were Lithuanian. Before the start of the meeting they demanded an interpreter! It is not that they

have ceased to understand the language—they no longer understand one another's souls. That is the frightening thing about all this.

What is going to happen to us? Now the party organization of our machine repair shop is refusing to pay its dues. They say that until the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee makes its position clear they will send their dues direct to Moscow, to the CPSU Central Committee, rather than pay them here.

V. Antonov:

You can foresee how the situation is going to develop by looking at what has already happened in the republic so far. Without waiting for the conclusions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies commission, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet's own commission has declared the decision taken by the People's Sejm in 1940 to incorporate Lithuania in the Soviet Union to be illegal. Preparations are now under way for a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet at which further proposals could be made to rescind the results of a vote taken 49 years ago. If that happens, soviet power in the republic could actually be declared illegal.

How can we members of the still young committee for the defense of soviet power in Lithuania oppose this threat? The answer could be to work to consolidate healthy forces in the republic. Our position is this: The national revival of all the inhabitants of Soviet Lithuania is possible only on the basis of mutual respect, tolerance, and real equality, irrespective of nationality, social status, and religious belief. [Antonov ends]

... Our discussion was over. Everyone was getting ready to leave when the telephone rang. The person whose office we were sitting in lifted the receiver. He listened, and his face darkened. "I am a Communist," he replied firmly to his invisible interlocuter. "And that is a party slogan in which I believe. It will stay there at least as long as I am here." The person at the other end of the line had demanded that the slogan "The plans of the party are the plans of the people" be removed from the entrance.

Young Warned on Antidraft Leaflet Campaign

PM1509124989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 31 Aug 89 p 3

[Report on statement by Lieutenant General N.G. Ter-Grigoryants, deputy chief of Ground Troops Main Staff, conducted by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Our Duty Remains Sacred"; date, place not specified; first two paragraphs are correspondent's introduction]

[Text] A statement addressed to the USSR defense minister and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] military commissar is being distributed to young people on the streets of certain cities in Lithuania by persons unknown. The leaflet's content amounts briefly to the following: Since the Lithuanian state has been occupied by the Soviet Union, the republic's citizens have the right on this basis to refuse to serve "in the Soviet Union's occupation troops" and to return their military service card and draft registration certificate.

Your TASS correspondent asked Lieutenant General Ter-Grigoryants to comment on this.

"Let me begin by saying that this pathetic document constitutes merely one element in the separatist line that destructive forces in the Baltic republics have been pursuing of late. Their ultimate objective is, as is well known, separation from the Soviet Union. The CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Position in the Soviet Baltic Republics provided the most forthright and responsible political assessment of the actions of such nationalist, extremist groupings. I want, however, to dwell on the following features.

"Literally a few weeks ago all our people marked the 45th anniversary of the liberation of many Baltic cities and population centers, including Lithuania's capital, Vilnius. The city was, I recall, occupied by German fascist invaders 24 June 1941 and liberated 13 July 1944 by troops of the 3d Belorussian Front. The latter date was commemorated in many corners of our immense motherland additionally because the representatives of virtually all the nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet Union fought in and died in the battle for Vilnius. Thousands, if not tens of thousands of "killed in action" notices mentioning the capital and other Lithuanian population centers are still kept in many Soviet families.

"It is difficult, I think, for these people to hear our army in the Baltic now called an army of occupation by some. It is, after all, a downright insult to the whole Soviet people, who have always regarded the army as their defender and prime helper. I could quote numerous examples to confirm this here, but they are are already familiar to everyone. Finally, this is an insult to the patriotic feelings of the majority of young people and inhabitants of the Baltic republics who have already served or are serving in the USSR Armed Forces. It has provided and continues to provide them with a schooling in courage and physical and moral tempering.

"By the way, and I want to specially stress this, the spring draft call in the Baltic republics proceeded, despite the difficult political situation in that region, in a pretty efficient and well-organized way. There were, naturally, individual hitches and foul-ups, but on the whole all the young men were duly drafted and allocated to units. In the opinion of unit commanders, they are performing their duty fittingly.

"The draft campaign in the Baltic and other regions of the country, particularly in the Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics, was distinguished by the fact that the military commissariats have paid special attention to young servicemen's social situation. In sending them to off to do their service they took account of the family's material status, their parents' situation, and the state of affairs in the young man's family. Many of them have remained in the Baltic Military Okrug to do their service.

Married draftees have had the opportunity to do their service in the place where they were drafted and live. This will continue.

"As you can see, perestroyka has affected all spheres of army life, even those which even a few years ago seemed unshakable to us. For example, students of higher educational institutions are discharged early. But it would seem that extremist elements in the Baltic do not know and do not want to know anything about this. They have but one goal: To drive a wedge between the people and the army and defame and discredit the Armed Forces in every way in the public's eyes by exploiting young people for their selfish ends. Is this really not clear to people!

"And, in so doing, what are they counting on? On the basest amd most selfish feelings of a certain section of young people for whom lofty ideals no longer mean anything. They are not even worried by the fact that, until recently, those who did not serve in the army could not expect young women even to look at them. These young men are dreadfully afraid of difficulties in general and of the privations of military service in particular. As a human being I even pity such people.

"Finally, I am bound to say that the young people led on by extremists display basic ignorance of the law, since no one has repealed the USSR Law on Universal Military Service. And it clearly states that service in the USSR Armed Forces is an honorable military duty and that any attempts to evade it entail perfectly clear consequences. And the USSR Constitution says that the defense of the socialist motherland is a sacred duty for every Soviet citizen.

"I would like to conclude with words drawn from the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Position in the Soviet Baltic Republics. It says, among other things, that the Baltic peoples' future is threatened by grave danger. People should be aware of the abyss toward which nationalist leaders are pushing them.

"Let every inhabitant of the Baltic given an anonymous leaflet by extremists consider this warning as a true patriot."

Estonia Popular Front Wants National Referenda

LD2809104789 Tallinn HOMELAND in English 13 Sep 89 p 2

["Draft Law on Referendum Published"—HOMELAND headline]

[Text] Estonia is standing at the crossroads once again. But, unlike in 1940, the people want to decide for themselves which road to take. In view of this the Representative Council of the Popular Front of Estonia has come forward with the principles of a law on holding referendums and plebiscites. The draft appeared in the EDASI daily.

A referendum will be called to establish the stand of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] citizens on such crucial national issues as the country's political status, type of government, borders, changes in the administrative and territorial division, conclusion of important international treaties, and so on.

A plebiscite will be held to pass or reject major legislative acts.

A referendum or a plebiscite, the draft says, could be called by the Estonian Supreme Soviet or its Presidium, the Estonian Government, at least half of the local councils, or by popular initiative (a minimum of 10 per cent of the citizens of the Estonian SSR qualified to vote).

According to the draft, the right to vote in a referendum on Estonia's self-determination is granted to citizens of the Estonian nationality who, under the law, have the voting right, and to citizens who have obtained Estonian citizenship through birth, irrespective of their nationality.

The results of a referendum on Estonia's self-determination are valid if two thirds of electors have been to the polls. The results of a referendum are obligatory for Estonia's bodies of power and government in their legislative and executive functions.

Representatives of the Soviet Union's central government, foreign countries and international organizations will be asked to monitor the referendum on Estonia's self-determination.

From the moment a referendum on Estonia's self-determination is proclaimed and until its results are made public the dislocation of Soviet troops stationed on the Estonian territory will be forbidden under the draft law.

Protocol With Estonian Strike Committees Outlined

PM2809085589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[ETA report: "What Was Decided at Talks"]

[Text] As already reported 8 September, the dialogue between representatives of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium commission and representatives of the Republic Council of Strike Committees continued in a working group, where they discussed economic questions.

It was noted that a report that an order issued at Tallinn's Bus Association providing for the use of administrative measures against strikers has been abolished is being taken into consideration.

The protocol notes that representatives of the Republic Council of Strike Committees proposed that it be laid down that under conditions of economic accountability

[khozyaystvennyy raschet] in the Estonian SSR all industrial enterprises are economically autonomous and organize their work with USSR and Estonian SSR state organizations in accordance with USSR and Estonian SSR laws, if they do not contradict one another.

Representatives of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium commission believe that in the event of such a contradiction they must be guided by Article 3 of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution dated 27 July 1989 "On Proposals by the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR Supreme Soviets on the Transition of These Republics to Economic Accountability."

The participants in the talks instructed the drafters to send the draft laws on enterprises' economic activity which are being prepared on the instructions of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, including the draft laws on taxation, self-management, and entrepreneurship, to enterprises for examination no later than 2 weeks before they are published in the press.

Representatives of the Republic Council of Strike Committees proposed that it be laid down that no decision can be made to change enterprises' departmental subordination or change their specialism without the consent of the labor collective at the enterprise in question.

Representatives of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium commission deem it necessary to resolve this question in the light of the opinion of the enterprise's labor collective in accordance with its rights under the USSR Law on Labor Collectives.

Both sides deem it advisable to clarify the wording of Article 5 of the Estonian SSR Law "Basic Principles of Economic Accountability in the Estonian SSR" to indicate the need to establish equal conditions of economic, social, and cultural development for the republic's entire population.

It is advisable to refer the new wording of this article for examination by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Representatives of the Republic Council of Strike Committees deem it necessary to instruct the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to create a commission of deputies with the participation of an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary on questions of prospects for providing each family in the republic and the city of Tallinn with an individual apartment or home in accordance with the Housing Program by the year 2000.

In view of the fact that the Estonian SSR Housing Program through the year 2000 has been approved by an Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution, representatives of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium commission deem it advisable to create an Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet commission of deputies to verify the progress made in fulfilling this program.

Zaykov Addresses Cost-Accounting Meeting

LD1609211589 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 17 TASS—The bureau of the Moscow Communist Party city committee on Saturday [16 September] discussed preparations for Moscow's transition to cost-accounting and self-government.

Moscow city party chief Lev Zaykov said that the Moscow variant of cost-accounting "differs from others because we don't fence ourselves off from other regions but are strengthening economic ties with them."

Moscow Mayor Valeriy Saykin and other speakers pointed out that the first stage of the transition to cost-accounting relations and self-government will include the introduction in 1990 of a new order of forming the budgets of the city and its districts in accordance with long-term norms of deductions from profits of federal, republican and local enterprises and from state income, and of paying for city resources.

Moscow will fulfil its functions on a long-term contractual basis and be financed from the federal and republican budget.

A new draft law on the Soviet capital's status, being prepared now, is intended to grant the Moscow city council the exclusive right to choose priorities and ways for the city's social and economic development, to give necessary financial and legal guarantees for the efficient functioning of all spheres of the city's economy, ensure the population's social protection in conditions of the introduction of cost-accounting and self-government, and establish mutually advantageous relations between the state, the Russian Federation and the city.

The meeting approved draft regulations for the introduction of cost-accounting relations and self-government in Moscow.

Daily To Feature Material About KGB

PM2709152989 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 89 p 4

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Subscription-90": "'Letters From Lubyanka'"]

[Text] Those Muscovites who took part in unsanctioned rallies organized by the Democratic Union frequently heard chants there of "Down with the KGB!" What do we know about this organization? The fact that during Stalin's repressions many of its staffers were noted for their unrestrained cruelty, pulverizing people's lives in the terrible machine of total violence. Or the fact that in the Brezhnev stagnation years the files on cases of "dissidents" were bursting and the lives of our fellow citizens were wantonly ruined...

Yes, this did happen, it all happened. What was once secret is now a reality. But can everything be painted

only black? After all, the security officers did many glorious things. No society can do without the security organs. So the shouts of "Down with the KGB!" are not only demagogic but also provocative, aiming to stir up unhealthy passions.

Today we are accustomed to living in a society of open zones and doors and we are sure that this is to our benefit. Distortions and rumors are disappearing. Doors are opening for journalists and security officers. And we intend to take advantage of this proposal and remove the veil of secrecy from their difficult and courageous work. What do KGB personnel do in this country and abroad, in what at times extreme conditions do they have to solve their tasks, and do they always fulfill their duty successfully? You will find answers to these and other questions in articles under the new rubric "Letters From Lubyanka," which will be published this year and next by Yu. Shabanov, chief of the newspaper's Communist Education Department, who previously "served" in all the subdivisions of the USSR KGB Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast.

Leaders Confer on 'Baltic Market' Proposal

PM280909?989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russi 13 Sept 89 p 1

[ETA-attributed report by Kh. Talving: "Conference in Lithuania"]

[Text] A joint conference of the three Baltic republics on questions of strengthening economic cooperation and the creation of a Baltic market was held at Panevezhis, Lithuania, at the end of last week. This idea was first raised by the people's movements in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and has now been picked up at government level. So, alongside representatives of "Sajudis" and the Latvian and Estonian People's Fronts, the conference was attended by K. Prunskene, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, A. Gutmanis, first deputy of the Latvian SSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], and E. Savisaar, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Estonian SSR Gosplan. Economic leaders and scientists were also widely represented.

The conference communique noted that in the light of the three republics' geopolitical position, identical level of economic development, and similar production structure, it would be expedient to deepen their economic integration. The objective of the Baltic market is to achieve social progress and to improve the living standards of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian peoples.

The Baltic market is to be created in two stages: As from 1990 interrepublican division of labor is to be introduced and intergovernmental treaties on production and commodity turnover regulation and rapprochement are to be concluded. It is planned to ensure that as from 1993 the entire integration mechanism begins to function in relation to the other union republics and foreign countries.

The creation of the Baltic market will be coordinated by an intergovernmental commission. It will be assisted by working groups, which will be created by 1 October. The elaboration of the draft intergovernmental treaty for 1990 is to be completed by 1 November. In the future such treaties will be concluded annually right up to the establishment of the Baltic market.

A number of subgroups defined key initial spheres of activity. These involve the development of power systems, energy-saving measures, the production of agricultural machinery, livestock breeding and seed selection, demarcation of economic zones on the sea shelf, coordination of consumer goods production, organization of joint trade fairs, integration of information systems, coordination of import policy, and so forth.

The aim has been set of coordinating the actions of the Baltic republics on both the union and the foreign markets. In the event of emergencies, mutual economic aid is envisaged.

Belorussian Presidium Backs CPSU Party Stance

PM2709153989 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 9 Sep 89 p 1

["Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution on the CPSU Central Committee Statement 'On the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics'"—SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA headline]

[Text] The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that recent sociopolitical processes in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia cause profound worry among the republic's workers, collective farm members, and intelligentsia. Actions by individual social organizations and formations in the Baltic republics and by citizens' groups with extremist leanings have led to the creation of an alarming situation and are aimed at undermining the consolidation of all progressive forces, the international fraternity and friendship of Soviet people living there, and the moral and political unity of the USSR peoples.

Soviet Belorussia's working people, closely linked with the people of the Soviet Baltic republics through territorial proximity, shared historical destiny, front-line and partisan fraternity, and economic ties, are perturbed by the desire of aggressively inclined forces to embark on anticonstitutional actions contrary to our state's federative principles. Profound concern is aroused by instances of whipping up tension, desecration of state symbols and of the people's sacred places and monuments, and infringement of the rights, honor, and dignity of the nonindigenous section of the population.

Fully supporting the evaluation contained in the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the

Soviet Baltic republics, we believe that the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia will not allow any split in their ranks or domination by separatist sentiments, and that they will preserve everything that is valuable in the united family of Soviet peoples. For our part, we will do everything to ensure that the bonds of constant fruitful cooperation between labor collectives and scientific and cultural institutions in Belorussia and the Baltic republics constantly develop and strengthen on the basis of socialist ideals.

The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To approve the political evaluations and conclusions contained in the CPSU Central Committee Statement "On the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics."

2. We call on the working people and Supreme Soviet Presidiums of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's to take constructive measures to stabilize the sociopolitical situation and to strengthen the peoples' friendship and feelings of patriotism and internationalism. It is friendship that provides the foundation of our shared goals, which unite our country's peoples and guarantee the irreversibility of perestroyka. It is only through joint efforts that we will be able to preserve and consolidate our great gain and asset—the USSR.

[Signed] N. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
L. Syroyegina, secretary of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Tatar Obkom Replaces First Secretary Usmanov

LD2309140789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1217 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Kazan, 23 Sep (TASS)—A plenum of the Tatar CPSU Oblast Committee [obkom] took place and examined an organizational question. In connection with the election of Gumer Usmanov as CPSU Central Committee secretary, he was released from his duties as obkom first secretary.

The plenum examined three nominations for the post of obkom first secretary. As a result of the election contest (Mintime)r Shaymiyev was elected first secretary of the Tatar obkom.

More on Lipetsk, Tatar Obkom Elections

PM2809075589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS reports under general heading: "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Kazan, 23 Sep—A plenum of the Tatar party oblast committee [obkom] has been held to discuss an organizational question. In connection with the election of G.I. Usmanov as CPSU Central Committee secretary, the plenum released him from his duties as party obkom first secretary.

The plenum considered three candidacies for the post of CPSU obkom first secretary: A.G. Bulatov, party obkom secretary; R.G. Galeyev, first secretary of the Almetyevsk party city committee; and M.Sh. Shaymiyev, chairman of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. All three were included on the secret ballot paper. As a result of the multicandidate election M.Sh. Shaymiyev was elected first secretary of the Tatar CPSU Obkom.

G.I. Usmanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum.

Lipetsk, 23 Sep—A plenum of the Lipetsk party obkom has been held to discuss an organizational question.

In connection with the election of Yu.A. Manayenkov as secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the plenum released him from his duties as party obkom first secretary.

V.V. Donskikh, formerly chairman of the Lipetsk oblast soviet executive committee, was elected first secretary of Lipetsk CPSU Obkom.

The plenum was addressed by Yu.A. Manayenkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Uzbek Republic Appoints New Ministers

LD2809103889 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 Sep 89 P1

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

The Presidium of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet decrees the appointment of comrade Sanobar Akhralovna Khodzhayeva as minister of social security of the Uzbek SSR. [passage omitted]

The Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet decrees the apointment of comrade Inom Nazarovich Iskandarov as minister of the construction materials industry of the Uzbek SSR. [passage omitted]

The Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet decrees the appointment of comrade Khamidulla Khabibullayevich Gulyamov as chairman of the state committee of the Uzbek SSR for Labor and social questions. [passage omitted]

Kazakh Language Law Said Different From Others

PM2709111389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[KAZTAG-TASS report under the general heading: "Republic Sessions"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 22 Sep—Not to divide people but to strengthen the historically formed community of representatives of the many dozens of nations and ethnic groups of the USSR living in Kazakhstan—that message from the voters was fulfilled by deputies at the Kazakh

Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet extraordinary session which ended today.

The language of the nationality whose name the republic bears has been declared the state language, but Russian is recognized as the language of interethnic discourse. In addition to the state language it will be used freely on the territory of the Kazakh SSR. This considerably distinguishes the law which has been adopted from similar laws in some other republics. It confirms that the changed status of the two languages does not prevent the use and development of the languages of other ethnic groups which may, by decision of the appropriate soviet of people's deputies, be given the status of local official language in areas with a high concentration of such groups.

The package of documents adopted by the session also includes a law on amendments and additions to the Kazakh SSR Constitution (Basic Law) and laws on elections of people's deputies.

Kazakh Deputies Confer Before Supreme Soviet

PM2809083989 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 89 p 1

[KAZTAG report: "Meeting of People's Deputies"]

[Text] A meeting of USSR People's Deputies from Kazakhstan was held 13 September at the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. It was also attended by the leaders of republic ministries and departments, senior officials of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers, and oblast soviet executive committee chairmen.

The meeting was devoted to preparations for the fall session of the Supreme Soviet and the second USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the implementation of election programs and voters' instructions, and the discussion of other pressing questions in deputies' activity. M.R. Sagdiyev, USSR People's Deputy and chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered the opening address.

U.K. Karamanov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, spoke to the gathering. He described the republic's present economic situation and dwelt on important problems in the development of economic sectors and on tasks in the sphere of social policy. Special attention was devoted to Kazakhstan's transition to principles of self-management and self-financing.

The people's deputies were informed about the state of and measures to improve the financial situation and the money supply, improve the ecological situation, and more fully utilize manpower resources. A.Ye. Batsula, Kazakh SSR minister of finance, A.P. Korotkov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment, and S.I. Dzhandosov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, spoke on these questions.

As is well known, the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is to examine draft laws of great importance for the country: on ownership, the lease and lease relations, general principles of management of the economic and social spheres in the union republics, local self-management and the local economy, and others. A group of people's deputies led by A.K. Safonov, chief of the "Alma-Ata House Construction Combine" Design and Construction Association, comprehensively studied the drafts of these laws with the participation of specialists and elaborated proposals and comments on them. The material prepared by the group has been distributed to deputies for further work.

Ye.N. Auyelbekov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, and other people's deputies exchanged opinions on the questions under discussion. It was noted that the people's elected deputies must do everything possible to ensure that the work of the coming session of the Soviet parliament goes as constructively as possible, with a sense of responsibility for the fate of perestroyka.

The meeting's participants reacted with great interest to the draft laws submitted to the extraordinary session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet—on amendments and additions to the Kazakh SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), elections to republic and local organs of state power, and on languages.

N.A. Nazarbayev, USSR people's deputy and first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

Kazakh Plenum Makes Personnel Changes

PM2809083589 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 89 p 1

["Information Report on Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"—KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The 16th Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held 12 September 1989.

The plenum examined the question "On the Draft Concept for Self-Management and Self-Financing in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]." U.K. Karamanov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, delivered the report on this question.

The following took part in discussing the report: A.V. Milkin, first secretary of East Kazakhstan Party Oblast Committee [Obkom]; K.B. Boztayev, first secretary of Semipalatinsk Party Obkom; A.Ye. Batsula, Kazakh SSR minister of finance; I.I. Dumanov, director of the Leninogorsk Polymetallic Combine; S.D. Beysenov,

Kazakh SSR minister of consumer services; A.I. Vikhlyayev, director of Kustanay Oblast's Ostrovskiy State Farm; K. Naribayev, head of a Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute department; M.D. Atabayev, general director of Dzhambul's "Khimprom" Production Association; O.O. Suleymenov, first secretary of the Kazakh Writers Union Board; and S.T. Takezhanov, general director of the "Kazsvinets" State Production Association.

The plenum approved the draft Concept for Self-Management and Self-Financing in Kazakhstan and recommended that it be published in the press for extensive discussion. The republic's Council of Ministers was instructed to put the finishing touches to the draft concept in light of the comments and proposals made in the course of the debate and submit it for examination at a routine session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet.

The plenum examined the question of the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics and adopted a corresponding resolution, which is being published in the press.

The plenum examined organizational questions.

In connection with their retirement on a pension, transfer to other work, or departure from the republic the plenum removed the following from the ranks of Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee members: V.P. Demidenko, Yu.G. Kazachenko, G.V. Kochkin, O.S. Miroshkhin, I.K. Petrovas, and Ye.A. Rusanov.

The plenum removed the following from the ranks of candidate members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee: Ye. Gabdullin, V.I. Dvurechenskiy, O. Mulkibayev, Ye. Razmadiyev, and N.I. Smirnov.

The plenum relieved M.S. Mendybayev of his duties as member of the Bureau and second secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his transfer to other work.

The plenum relieved L.Ye. Davletova of her duties as member of the Bureau and secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee in connection with her transfer to other work.

The plenum elected V.G. Anufriyev second secretary and Ye.M. Asanbayev and V.I. Dvurechenskiy secretaries and members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum elected U.K. Karamanov member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

In connection with the changes in the composition of the Central Committee Secretariat, the plenum approved the following as chairmen of Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee commissions: N.A. Nazarbayev—for state and legal questions; V.G. Anufriyev—for questions of organizational-party and cadre work; Ye.M. Asanbayev—for questions of socioeconomic development; and V.I. Dvurechenskiy—for questions of agrarian policy.

The plenum ratified M. Dzholdasbekov as head of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department and Zh.S. Karibzhanov as head of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Agrarian Department.

N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

L.D. Zakharchenko, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

Economic

Abalkin Details Program for Economic Recovery

PM2709155089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Academician L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by M. Berger: "Destiny of Reform: Government's Strategy and Tactics"; date and place of interview not stated]

[Text] [Berger] Leonid Ivanovich, how do you assess today's situation in the economy and how is it influencing the progress of reform?

[Abalkin] The present reform has a design and an aim. It also has its internal logic—movement from individual measures toward a system of measures, the transfer from external, "upper echelon," transformations, so to speak, to the radical perestroyka of the economic basis.

The reform's strategic point remains unchanged. It is a component of perestroyka, a decisive condition for the renewal of socialism. But the course of social development and the existing situation—and it is constantly changing, and by no means for the better—require that the course which has been adopted be amended and that tactics be made more specific.

What is this about? Above all the fact that the economic situation in the country has continued to deteriorate over the past 18-24 months or so. So far we have not succeeded in halting the growth of negative processes. This applies particularly to the consumer market, the budget deficit, and monetary turnover. There is growing dissatisfaction with the progress of the reform and social tension is mounting.

Much has been spoken and written about this—for some reason less attention is paid to something else. In the majority of sectors and enterprises production is not growing or, if it is increasing, it is often by raising prices. No improvement is to be observed in the quality of

output and technical progress is at a standstill. How under these conditions can we count on improving matters in the economy?

Meetings democracy cannot replace labor activeness and strikes cannot raise production activity. It is impossible at one and the same time to halt the movement of railroad rolling stock and to demand an improvement in supplies. Emotions have never yet been able to replace common sense anywhere.

[Berger] Many people are agreed in assessing the present situation as critical. As for formulas suggested for curing it, they are sometimes diametrically opposite: Some people want to hurry events along, demanding that we embark boldly and immediately on the most radical measures while others suggest returning to "the good old days." But critics "from the left" and "from the right" agree in assessing the present situation as abnormal and intolerable.

[Abalkin] I have already spoken of the assessment of the situation. The government clearly understands the depth of the crisis phenomena and the dangerous consequences of the trends in operation. It has a considered, extremely realistic program for emerging from the present stalemate, if you like. But that is not enough. Today everyone must clearly understand that an extraordinary situation will require extraordinary measures.

Now about the proposals "from the left" and "from the right." Calls to implement reform at a stroke, to jump across the abyss "in one leap" are simply unrealistic in my opinion. They fail to consider the size of the abyss or the strength of those who intend to make the leap.

As for nostalgia for the past, under the influence of the growing difficulties it is gaining an increasing number of supporters. And not only among those who are included in the "apparatus." But a return to the past, to the methods of the administrative-edict system, is a deadlock option for social development.

There are options in any movement forward. They must be carefully considered and chosen wisely. But there is no alternative to perestroyka, no alternative to radical economic and political reform. Renouncing the course of perestroyka means renouncing the future.

And another thing about extremes, about the danger of "left" and "right" extremism. They separate forces and bring different social strata and groups into conflict. I am far from the idea that every person is seeking here to 'catch fish in murky waters.' But the natural result of such actions is the poisoning of the public atmosphere and a kind of ecological crisis in the social environment.

The stepping up of pressure from one side causes the activation of forces at the other extreme. Leftist calls generate the dangerous intensification of pressure from the right. Are we always in control of what we create?

[Berger] Your opinions are very interesting. But let's return to the subject of our talk. You said that the government has a program for emerging from the present crisis. Could you describe it in detail?

[Abalkin] The most immediate and priority step in this program is to halt the growth of negative processes in the economy and to break the course of development. Here it is not simply a case of wishes or intentions. The government is acting. It is acting vigorously and sufficiently firmly. At its initiative a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution has been adopted on the tough tax regulation of funds channeled into the growth of wages, changes have been made to the Law on the Enterprise, and the import of consumer goods has been considerably expanded.

Very serious steps for economic recovery have been outlined in the draft plan and budget for 1990.

These are all priority, urgent measures. They can be categorzsed rather as tactics. More radical and larger scale changes can be implemented as of 1991. I link them with the adoption of the law on ownership, the land and the use of the land, the lease and lease relations, and the unified tax system, and with the new law on the socialist enterprise. The drafts of these laws were submitted for examination by the Supreme Soviet 1 September this year.

The government is preparing a detailed program of action for the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It will reflect questions of a strategic nature—paths for the economy's financial recovery, the main parameters of economic and social development for the long term, and specific steps and stages in the further development of reform.

[Berger] It is obviously still early to talk about that. Readers will probably be interested in the content of the documents already submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Especially as it will begin work in the next few days.

[Abalkin] I want to stress that the draft plan and budget which have been submitted and the draft laws are not the fruit of thinking in offices. The government's program is an open program, it is prepared to absorb, to collect accumulated experience and any sensible proposals. Much in it has been considered from the proposals of the people's deputies and the recommendations of science.

The proposals which have been submitted are closely interconnected. They are united by the demand for a transition from the principles of sharing to the principle of earning. The tradition of a levelling down approach and of dependence has generated the phenomenon that is "dependent socialism." In my view this is the most accurate concept of those used to describe the socialist system which has taken shape.

We have become accustomed—and have so far not grown unaccustomed—to sharing the cake. Each person tries to cut off an increasingly large piece for himself. But the cake does not become bigger as a result of these

operations and one piece can only increase at the expense of reducing the share of others.

[Berger] Leonid Ivanovich, the cake, forgive me the pun, is perhaps an image with which we are "fed up" and is perhaps somewhat oversimplified. The mechanics for sharing it are more complex and subtler. Probably many people have no idea that at a particular moment they are grabbing someone else's share.

[Abalkin] Sharing the cake is at the same time both complex and primitive. We have replaced what was simply direct "cutting" with the issue of coupons for the right to receive a piece. And because the process is divided into stages, we form the impression that the more of these coupons are issued—and it is not only quotas, funds, and schedules but also money which act as coupons—the bigger the share we can obtain. But that only creates the ground for unjustified claims.

Sometimes you cannot help asking why enterprises exist at all. To hear some people they only exist to satisfy the workers' requirements: constructing housing for them, increasing wages, and resolving other local social tasks. All this must indeed be done, but only in exchange for a socially necessary product. The enterprise is in fact created to satisfy particular social needs. And the quality of life of the collective should depend directly and immediately on the quality of the solution of this task.

[Berger] Yes, I remember how at the Supreme Soviet session which examined your candidacy, in reply to questions about why we are living like this, you offered your own version of a well known phrase. You said at the time: "We live no worse than we work." It probably did not convince everyone.

[Abalkin] Unless production grows, unless its efficiency increases, and that is the reality, counting on an improvement to life means succumbing to illusions or laying claim to this improvement at the expense of others. Nothing is given away, as they say.

[Berger] What "medicines" is the government offering today?

[Abalkin] As far as the immediate future is concerned I would use a triple formula: the curbing of economic growth, the financial recovery of the national economy, and a drastic stepping up of social priorities in the development of the economy. In elaborating the plan and budget the government has employed a fundamentally different approach from previous traditions. It is not material balances and not growth rates, but the end results of the functioning of the economic system—the population's incomes, the state's financial plan, the consumer market, and social positions—which have been taken as the point of departure.

The task of sharply reducing the state budget deficit was set as the priority. The documents which are being submitted set the state budget deficit for 1990 at R60 billion. It is important now to keep at this level.

[Berger] Forgive me, but such a rapid reduction of the deficit—halving it!—seems to me somewhat utopian. How is it to be done?

[Abalkin] We proceeded from the premise that the budget deficit cannot or rather should not be determined on the basis of the residual principle after compiling revenue and expenditure. It is the normative from which we are proceeding. It is very important to consider this in the process of the discussion and final adoption of the budget for 1990. Any increase in expenditure is possible only if it is accompanied by the growth of revenue, and not paper revenue, but real revenue. It would probably be correct for the Supreme Soviet to establish by legislation the size of this deficit and thus determine a strict framework both for itself and for the activity of the government which cannot, which does not have the right, to exceed the limits of the established correlation.

[Berger] How is it planned to cover the budget deficit?

[Abalkin] By a method that is fundamentally new for our economic practice. With a consideration of world experience it is proposed that the state issue debt bonds to the entire sum of this deficit. The bonds are securities guaranteeing a 5 percent income per annum and distributed through the banking system.

[Berger] What is the period for which these bonds are intended, and can anyone acquire them?

[Abalkin] These securities will be issued for 15 years and are intended for enterprises. It is also planned to issue bonds for the population, but not the kind currently in circulation, also with an annual interest rate of 5 percent and with the right to acquire and sell them freely.

This radical reduction in the state budget deficit has become possible as a result of the application of the principle of the most stringent saving of resources. It is primarily a case of reducing production capital investments and expenditure on defense and management. Here the reduction is not at the expense of encroaching on the rights of enterprises but proceeds by curbing the investment activity of the state itself. Centralized production capital investments are being reduced by one-third.

[Berger] In addition to the need to reduce investment appetites, discussions recently have also focused on the acute problem that is economic growth rates. I remember your ideas with regard to how rapid rates are incompatible with structural perestroyka, ideas which you voiced at the 19th party conference, sounded almost like sacrilege. You had many critics at the time. Today to all appearances the attitude toward this question has changed.

[Abalkin] Yes, from this viewpoint the draft plan for 1990 is of a fundamentally different nature. Even a cursory glance at the figures is enough to form an idea of how substantial is the break with the traditions of past stages and how broad are the projected advances.

The national income used for consumption and accumulation will increase just 1.1 percent next year. But here very substantial structural changes are planned within it. That part of the national income which is channeled into current consumption and nonproduction construction, that is the construction of housing, schools, hospitals, and so forth, should grow 5 percent. But the funds earmarked for expanded reproduction have been set at nearly 18 percent less for 1990. Changes just as radical are envisaged in industrial production growth rates. There is no parallel in our entire history for the ratios included in the 1990 plan: According to the government's proposals, group "A" output should grow 0.5 percent and group "B" output 6.7 percent.

Without a resolute break with the traditions of the past, without a bold, radical, breakdown of existing proportions, we shall not get out of the quagmire of financial crisis.

[Berger] And one of the most graphic and painful manifestations of this crisis is the imbalance, or to be more accurate, the impoverishment of the consumer market. Much has been said for a relatively long time now about the efforts which are being made here, but so far no improvements can be felt. What does the new cabinet intend to do?

[Abalkin] Three main avenues have been outlined here. The paramount task is to increase commodity resources on offer to the consumer market. Considering the mobilization of various sources retail trade turnover for 1990 has been set at R435 billion, that is showing an increase of 10 percent. As you can understand, this is very substantial.

Another avenue is connected with regulating the population's money-backed demand. Unless we place the size of money payments under strict control they can surpass even the substantial growth of commodity resources. In particular the decision taken by the Supreme Soviet on introducing tax regulation of the growth of funds channeled into the remuneration of labor is aimed at this. Incidentally, I recall that those who produce consumer goods are exempted from the tax on the growth of the wages fund.

There is no denying that this tax is tough. It is generating strong resistance from many enterprises. But this measure is an emergency measure, an enforced measure.

[Berger] You do not allow the possibility that the tax on the growth of the wages fund will not stop enterprises from eating up funds? For instance, they will transfer all accumulated funds for labor remuneration. Even after the maximum tax has been paid into the budget people will earn a further R10 billion, for instance, which will be an additional burden on the already bloodless market.

[Abalkin] Theoretically this danger does exist, although I do not think that absolutely everyone will behave so senselessly. It is also hard to believe that all labor collectives will vote to cease any development of their enterprises whatsoever. After all, money, which will no longer be possible to receive from the budget, is necessary for all this.

But even if we allow that what is unlikely may happen and suppose that all collectives take this illogical path to their own detriment, there will be enormous sums in the budget through taxes. And that has many plus points of its own.

In general, it seems to me, talk of this possibility is simple psychological pressure on the Supreme Soviet and government, a kind of blackmail to achieve the repeal of the decision which has been taken.

[Berger] You have touched on two avenues in work to stabilize the consumer market. What can be said about the third avenue?

[Abalkin] It is a case of the so-called tying up of income in long-term investments. The most diverse measures are envisaged here. The issue of shares and other securities designed to attract the population's money incomes to finance production or resolve social tasks.

It would also be possible to embark more resolutely on selling individual houses and state apartments to the population with the right of inheritance, on increasing the proportion of construction of cooperative housing, and on leasing land.

Considering the proposals which many specialists have already repeatedly voiced, it is planned to provide the population with the opportunity to supply interest-free loans for specific purposes guaranteeing the acquisition, after a specific time, of goods like passenger vehicles, furniture, domestic video equipment, and so forth.

[Berger] But is the government not afraid that it will lose trust on the basis of this measure? I do not mention the fact that obtaining interest-free, that is, free, loans from people in exchange for the opportunity to be among the first in line for a video recorder or automobile does not seem to me a model of equal relations between the state and citizens. The point lies elsewhere. Collecting money given the present lack of goods will obviously not be difficult. But is there a guarantee that the goods will be produced within the specified deadline?

Only recently they tried to persuade us how well things would go at the Yelabuga truck plant if we bought automobile securities. The plan was that the 1 million owners of securities would be first in line. And this when the Yelabuga truck plant needs to construct "only" 13 plants. Fortunately, this project was rejected.

[Abalkin] It is this rejection which is a guarantee that commitments will be met. And I want to say that it was thoughtfulness and realism which prompted us to reject the securities for the Yelabuga truck plant because there is no certainty of success. Here it would indeed be a dishonest game. In our plan we have selected only what will undoubtedly be done. Here the relatively small sum

of these loans—R5 billion—and the precisely limited deadline—1993—attest to its soundness.

In connection with the program for balance in the consumer market and financial recovery, I should like to stress the following point too. There is an entirely real danger that during the discussion of the budget demands will be made to earmark additional funds for specific social programs.

There is a naive idea that you only have to press the government as hard as possible and the funds will be found immediately. That is a profound misconception. The state has only those resources which it receives from enterprises and the population in the form of taxes. And nothing more. If, of course, you rule out the possibility of simply using a printing machine. Here we return again to the point that if there is no production growth then we must reduce the income of some people in order to increase the income of others.

We have already been obliged to implement a number of additional benefits in response to persistent demands. Resources for this are assessed at approximately R2.5-3 billion.

[Berger] You have in mind the miners' strikes?

[Abalkin] Yes, and not just that. Their demands can be deemed fair. But we must consider that their fulfillment increases by the relevant sum the state budget deficit. There are no other sources. And that means that if we recalculate this sum for the entire population, the additional benefits would cost approximately R10 for each of the country's inhabitants, including children and the elderly.

[Berger] There is a question which perturbs the absolute majority. Does the arsenal of measures proposed by the government for the economy's recovery include a radical means like monetary reform?

[Abalkin] I can say firmly and unambiguously: no.

[Berger] The rule-of-law state is inseparable from the concept of the rule-of-law economy. In our country economic legislation is at the embryonic stage while existing norms exert very feeble influence on the quality of economic relations. What are the prospects for the development of economic lawmaking? After all, the success or failure of economic tactics and strategy and economic policy as a whole will depend on this.

[Abalkin] The draft laws submitted for examination by the Supreme Soviet form the legal basis for the new stage of economic reform. They have been elaborated as a package of mutually coordinated measures and provide for quite profound transformations in our society's socioeconomic system.

The renewal of ownership relations is becoming the point of departure in the new stage of the reform. The entire logic of the forthcoming transformations starts from the change in this sphere. This is reflected in particular in the fact that the drafts which have been submitted provide for the investment of enterprises and their labor collectives with the functions of the real owner of the means of production.

The draft law on ownership stipulates that the enterprise possesses, uses, and disposes of its property and also takes regarding this property as it sees fit any other actions which are not banned by legislative acts of the USSR and the union republics.

[Berger] Including the right to buy and sell?

[Abalkin] Yes, unless it is banned by law.

It is possible to single out several key elements which are envisaged in the draft laws regarding the problem of ownership. These documents consider the overall logic of perestroyka and its orientation toward renewing socialism, but that means socialism and not deviations from it. In accordance with this the multiplicity of forms of socialist public ownership and ownership by citizens ruling out exploitation on the one hand and the worker's alienation from the means of production on the other is the basis of the USSR's socioeconomic system.

[Berger] Does this multiplicity include the private form of ownership? After all it too can be of a nonexploitative nature. In the West, for instance, an increasing number of hired workers are working at their own enterprises on a "self-employed" basis. Individual, family, and group labor activity has even acquired its own name—the "informal" economy. Its share in the developed countries' GNP is 10-20 percent and more. Perhaps in our country too this reserve would tangibly increase the GNP?

[Abalkin] For a start, let's define our terms. In the West everything which does not belong to the state is called private property. Our gradation is more complex. In our country there are five or six different forms of ownership. I am in favor of individual labor ownership of the means of production, that is a form excluding hired labor, existing in our country.

The recognition in legislation of the multiplicity of forms of ownership and the demand for different conditions for its development are of fundamental importance in renewing the actual ideas about socialism. Various forms and conditions of economic management, including cooperative, lease, and joint-stock forms, comply with these ideas.

The adoption of the proposed draft law will mean the need to make serious changes to the existing USSR Constitution.

The draft makes an attempt to reveal the internal structure of state ownership. This is manifested in the recognition, alongside all-union ownership, of republican and local ownership which could be called communal or municipal ownership. The legislative recognition of these forms is designed to create the basis for republican

and local self management, the foundation for the development of regional economic accountability [khozraschet] and, naturally, for the recall full power of soviets of all levels. Here we can see the combination of economic reform with the reform of the political system.

Finally, we must bear in mind one more fundamental step—the recognition of the possibility of the existence of several owners at one and the same establishment. It is a case of how property can belong to one owner or to several owners at the same time. In particular this applies to things like land and natural resources which can be at the same time all-union and republican property. Here we can discern the formation of a new phenomenon that is union-republican ownership. And this is not simply a legal norm. It fundamentally alters the regime for the economic use of resources. For instance, it is clear that the use of a facility which is the property of two owners simultaneously demands contract relations, that is, agreement from both sides.

This is new and unwonted but fully accords with the realities of the present state of society.

Financial relations between enterprise and state are changing fundamentally. It is a case of the transition to unified principles for the tax regulation of these mutual relations.

During the preparation of the relevant laws there was a complex quest and detailed analysis of alternative options. This was a difficult path. After all, it was necessary to ensure, with the aid of taxes, incentives to effective work and technical progress while preserving a steady basis for state budget revenue. It was also essential to observe equal stringency in the demands, which is a far from simple matter. Finally, the tax system must be as simple as possible and understandable not only to a narrow range of professionals but also to enterprise workers.

[Berger] And how did you succeed in observing all these demands?

[Abalkin] Eventually those working on the draft came to rest on the system of taxing profit. Here it is planned that it must be paid by all enterprises except cooperative enterprises in accordance with a single normative irrespective of subordination, the special features of sectors, or the size of production. Calculations have shown that this tax, deducted into the revenue of the union budget, should comprise approximately 35 percent of profit.

As for taxes paid into the republican and local budgets, the right to impose them is transferred to the republics on condition, however, that the total sum of profit exacted should in no circumstances exceed 60 percent.

Much that is new is being introduced to the management of enterprises. An attempt has been made to find a rational combination of democracy in management and one-man leadership. Various options were envisaged, which included taking account of sectors like transport and power and enterprises of the defense complex.

[Berger] Leonid Ivanovich, in speaking of the proposals which are being submitted in the field of tax policy, you stressed "except cooperatives." Are they completely outside economic life or will they operate under some special conditions?

[Abalkin] Perhaps there is no question more acute today, in which diametrically opposed approaches have clashed so implacably. Here, as in other cases, reason should prevail over emotions.

I think we should define the principles of the approach toward the development of the cooperative sector. They can be formulated in three points. First, there is recognition of cooperatives as one form of socialist economic management and their all-around support in this connection. Second, it is a case of the need to create different conditions of economic management for cooperatives and for types of enterprises. It is different conditions which should reveal the advantage of a particular form, and open the road to healthy competition, rivalry, and the selection of the most rational forms of economic management.

And, third and finally, it is a case of taking as much consideration as possible of local features, national traditions, and other factors of a regional nature. Hence the need to grant the republics and local soviets broad powers in regulating the conditions of their activity and in particular taxation.

A consideration of these three principles in regulating cooperative activity, including the system of tax regulation, is called on to remove all the scum which has attached itself to the cooperative movement and to promote the development of truly civilized cooperatives. A consideration of the features of cooperatives leads to the payment of taxes not from profit but from income. That is why I said "except for cooperative members."

In response to the numerous proposals voiced by the people's deputies and inhabitants of many parts of the country and by labor collectives, a number of fundamental changes are being made to the activity of cooperatives. Above all the role of local soviets and special deputies' groups is being increased in examining questions of opening cooperatives and their possible closure. Various public organizations, including trade unions, can come out with this initiative. But here, too, the law should operate. The final say remains with the soviet as the organ of the power of the people.

[Berger] Would it not be more logical for the rule-of-law state on a question like the compulsory cessation of the activity of an enterprise for the court to have the final say? It is possible to work out procedural details, to expand or narrow the list of those who have the right to initiate closure, but the court must nonetheless be the final instance. Otherwise it will be hard to avoid subjectivity or even abuses.

[Abalkin] I stand by my opinion: The soviets are the supreme legislative power. They have all rights.

One more norm is envisaged in accordance with which leading workers of organs of state management, state enterprises, organizations, and institutions, or workers of organs which control the activity of cooperatives cannot become members of a cooperative or work in a cooperative under a labor contract.

[Berger] You will soon have been heading the State Commission for Economic Reform—a new organ in the Council of Ministers—for 3 months. What is the commission's role both in the government and in the actual process of reconstructing the national economy?

[Abalkin] The state commission for economic reform is called on to ensure the preparation of government decisions on the relevant questions, to give expert assessments of proposals which are submitted and, finally, within the limits of its powers, to take final decisions on question of or perestroyka in the management system. It is now taking only its first steps. Much effort is being made to complete the formation of a system of legislative acts in the field of regulating economic life.

Having fulfilled the Supreme Soviet instruction on preparing priority laws, we are continuing work. On the agenda are a law on joint-stock enterprises and a law on banks. Work has been begun on legislation regulating the activity of concerns, consortiums, and associations, the creation of small enterprises, and measures to restrict monopolistic processes.

I want to highlight one more problem. It is no secret that the decisions which are taken have frequently failed to consider possible economic and social consequences and have also failed to consider the state of public opinion and its readiness for particular steps. That is why it is planned to introduce into practice situational analysis and the study, with the aid of leading experts, of the possible consequences of the decisions which are taken. And it is planned not only to consider these consequences but also to amend the proposed decisions in accordance with these consequences.

[Berger] And one last question. Are you confident of the success of the measures which have been elaborated? After all, if in 18 months' time, as the Supreme Soviet session stated, the government has not achieved tangible changes for the better, it will be obliged to resign.

[Abalkin] There ae 15 of the 18 months left. But I hope I have been able to persuade you that we have not wasted the time which has elapsed. Believing or not believing—those are not concepts used by science or by politicians. A realistic approach and the existence of a program of actions are needed. They are there. If we are speaking of success, it will depend on whether or not the Supreme Soviet accepts our proposals. And if it does, will the government have the firmness and consistency to implement them?

It is hard to make predictions, even harder to give any guarantees. But here is what I should like to mention in particular. Since the Supreme Soviet has entrusted us with executive power and set us specific tasks and defined specific deadlines, the government should also feel complete trust in itself. We must have the opportunity to work confidently and without artificial obstacles.

When the deadline comes we can be made answerable with a full degree of responsibility.

Three 'Free Economic Zones' To Be Implemented

PM2709160789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[I. Demchenko report: "Joint Enterprise Zones"]

[Text] Three free economic zones are going to be created in the Soviet Union—apparently next year. So I. Ivanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, said at a press conference on 19 September, a decision in principle on this matter has been made by the Soviet Government.

The first joint enterprise zones will be the regions of the cities of Vyborg, Novgorod, and Nakhodka, a substantial proportion of whose population has supported the proposal by local bodies of authority to take this fundamentally new direction of development. Each zone will have a definite area of specialization.

Vyborg plans to assimilate new, science-intensive technologies, both foreign and Soviet, and develop tourism. In the Nakhodka zone Soviet, foreign, and joint enterprises will be responsible for thoroughly processing raw materials and products of the fishing industry. The Novgorod zone will specialize in tourism, the manufacture of home video equipment, particularly by enterprises whose capacities are being freed as a result of conversion, and the production of slides, video films, and holographic reproductions of masterpieces of world art. A favorable customs setup will be in operation in all three zones, of course.

The details of organization of the joint enterprise zones are being discussed at an international seminar which opened in Moscow 19 September and was organized by the UN Center for Transnational Corporations and the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry. Foreign businessmen are attracted by the vast Soviet domestic market and so all three of the future free economic zones have a considerable number of offers.

In turn, our country is interested in an influx of foreign investments, the development of progressive technologies, and the appearance of new commodities. In the long term, our country will be integrated into the international economy through the creation of these zones.

Answering a question from your IZVESTIYA correspondent, I. Ivanov stressed that the joint enterprise zones will not be artificially isolated in any way and that people

will still be free to visit them. Both foreign currency and Soviet money will be in circulation in the zones. Of course, the organization of these regions does create certain social problems, but none is insoluble. In this sense, the first three zones can be regarded as experimental, to be followed by others.

People's Deputy Urges Miners Not To Strike

LD2709180789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] What can one say? The situation is alarming. In Moscow our special correspondent met Anatoliy Nikolayevich Saunin, USSR peoples deputy from the Donbass. He spoke thus:

[Begin Saunin recording] There are now two main points which are of concern to the miners. These are the questions of the pensions law and leave allocations. It is written there that the Council of Ministers will put forward a draft law before 1 October. This draft law does indeed exist. It has already been drawn up, elaborated, and returned three times. Today I had a meeting with Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry, and we discussed this.

There was a short meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. I told him about the miners' moods and the ultimatum that if the Supreme Soviet did not discuss the matter before 1 October the miners' response would be a strike. Mikhail Sergeyevich said that the situation was complicated and that a strike was not the way to resolve this matter; one must have patience. These problems would be tackled.

Taking advantage of the opportunity, I appeal to the miners of the Donbass and not only of the Donbass but also of the Kuzbass and other regions, so that they understand and are aware of the situation which has arisen and not have recourse today to such extreme measures which still bring anarchy into our economy and ruin it. Naturally, after this, how can one talk about possibilities of really implementing the just demands of the miners? [end recording]

Private Trading by 'Tourists' Viewed

18070754 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by F. Lukyanov: "The Invasion of Zahony"]

[Text] Zahony-Budapest—On the day of my arrival in Zahony—a small town of about 5,000 on the Soviet border—they were expecting a "peak" influx of Soviet citizens. The thing is that colleagues from Chop, the Soviet border station, called Karoy Borbey, local city council chairman, the night before and reported that on the Soviet side a rumor had been spread about a reduction in exchange of rubles for forints. Thus, all border area residents free on that day were preparing to take advantage of their last opportunity to go shopping in Hungary....

It was explained afterwards that the rumor was false: In spite of the fact that as a result of the balance of trade deficit between the USSR and the VNR [Hungarian People's Republic]—aggravated even more this year by the unprecedented flow of Soviet tourists to Hungary, which has exhausted the sum allocated for this in just six months—Gosbank [USSR State Bank] has ceased exchanging rubles for forints, while residents of the four border rayons who go to Hungary may exchange R30, as before. True, the rumor was unconfirmed, but all the same on that day about 60,000 Soviet citizens crossed the border, which can be considered a distinctive record for a weekday.

The Soviet-Hungarian inter-governmental agreement on simplifying border crossings between the two countries covers residents of four rayons of the Transcarpathian Oblast—Uzhgorod, Beregovo, Vinogradovskiy, Mukachevo, and the Hungarian border region of Szabolcs-Szatmar. This agreement is, for the time being, the only one of its type in our country. According to its statutes, now the residents of the four rayons do not need any invitation, and it is no longer obligatory to have relatives or friends there. It is sufficient to receive a passport amendment insert from the internal affairs organs, exchange the required R30, and cross the border at a convenient time.

In approaching the Soviet border from Budapest, after 60 kilometers the number of motor vehicles with Soviet license plates predominates. The abundance of Volga, Zaporozhets, and Zhiguli models creates the impression that one is not in Hungary, but on the other side of the border. The situation is the same in the border town of Zahony. "What happened here during the first months the new agreement was in effect could be compared with a pilgrimage," Zahony mayor Karoyu Borbeyu said to me in conversation. "Imagine what happens when in 1 day, 30,000-40,000 people come into a town of 5,000, or, like that record-breaking day in late April, when we had 65,000. Naturally, we did not expect this. Frankly, during the first few days, the residents were on the verge of panicking. Store shelves were emptied, meat and sausage disappeared, lines formed everywhere, you couldn't get anywhere, the city streets were filled with thousands of cars. Complaints came in from the residents. True, the state of shock soon passed; the city recovered from the shock, and we began to think about how we could adapt to such an influx of tourists."

I had to hear about how unforeseen the situation has been since the agreements went into effect from more than just the chairman of the local city council alone. On the Soviet side as well as on the Hungarian side, many services, from the border guards to Gosbank staffers, were unprepared for the new situation. All sorts of abuses have begun, to boot. Certain enterprising wheeler-dealers, for example, have contrived to cross the

border four or five times a day, wives and kids in tow, each time exchanging the R30 allowed by law for forints at the official exchange rate. Then they sold the forints for cheap rubles on the black market, where the forint's rate of exchange in comparison to that of the ruble is exactly twice as high, and according to the well-informed Zahony customs chief, they would make up to R5,000 a month in profit on this operation.

The first months saw an enormous overload on practically all city services, both on that side and on this side of the border. Thousands of people on foot and bicycle lined up in the hot sun at the KPP [control and check point], creating enormous blockages. There were not enough public transportation or currency exchange points. According to K. Borbey, this situation came about because almost no time had been left for preparation. The central organs on both sides of the border informed the local organs literally only a few days beforehand. As a result, everyone had to restructure things while they were already under way.

In order to suppress various abuses, the Transcarpathian oblispolkom [oblast executive committee] since 1 July has introduced substantial limitations on trips by Soviet citizens. Only one trip is permitted per month, not to exceed one week. Border crossings on foot and by bicycle are also prohibited. True, several tourist buses from Chop were allowed into Zahony after this, as well as two electric trains, one from the major city of Debrecen, located a fair distance from the border. The only problem is that the last bus and electric train depart for the USSR at about 8 in the evening, so Soviet citizens who remain in Hungarian territory after this hour for whatever reasons cannot get home and must spend the night on the other side of the border. This is most often on a bench in the Zahony train station, but sometimes in the open air, atop their belongings....

On the whole, the situation in Zahony is now stabilizing somewhat. If it is possible to put it that way, the city is gradually getting accustomed to the stream of Soviet tourists. And true, the stream is no longer restricting itself to a single border city. Our tourists are penetrating the country's interior ever more boldly, going to such major cities as Nyiregyhaza, Debrecen, and Budapest itself, almost 300 kilometers away. Incidentally, with money and gas, the entire country can be toured by car; the Hungarian authorities raise no barriers and do not limit our tourist-motorists to the Szabolcs-Szatmar region.

During this time, a few new stores opened in Zahony; they are geared exclusively toward those who come from the USSR, as the consumer-luring signs and billboards in Russian put it so eloquently.

According to my observations, the goods most in demand among our tourists are, nevertheless, sausage, meat, hot dogs, soap, laundry detergent, deodorant, and especially chewing gum, which is bought up in entire cartons. Nor do cassettes and tape recorders, and even videos lack for attention. True, for me, it remains puzzling how our tourist, with the right to exchange R30, a sum which by Hungarian price standards does not let him run wild, contrives to purchase not only chewing gum, but videos. By all appearances, this puzzles the Hungarian customs officials as well. As customs chief B. Borshi told me, for instance, one "business" compatriot recently tried to secretly take home three video cassette recorders, worth R1,500 each, when his declaration claimed that R30 had been exchanged!

Incidentally, there are opportunities to exchange rubles in addition to the declaration amount, or, for example, by bringing in some sort of item for sale. Thus, in the spring, many peasants from the Transcarpathians brought their produce to market in Zahony. The Hungarians were grateful. But there are other opportunities as well.

No more than 100 meters from the KPP the so-called "CEMA market" has sprung up, where primarily Polish is heard, and you can exchange anything: Rubles for forints, forints for rubles, forints for dollars and back again. And they will also buy and sell goods in demand, such as irons, mixers, cognac, jeans, etc. Exchange is carried out at black market rate—1 ruble for 10 forints (the official rate is about 20); 1 dollar for 100 forints.

Yes, as was noted in one Western newspaper, today, Zahony is indeed experiencing something like a "gold rush." The enormous flow of Soviet tourists, who, it would be shameful to pretend otherwise, are not exactly spoiled by an abundance of goods in their stores, do create a very serious market here. Not only are Hungarian entrepreneurs, cooperatives, and enterprises taking a closer look at it, but Western firms as well. According to the city's mayor, they have already made tempting offers. For example, one West German firm has proposed building an enormous supermarket, several thousand square meters, which would sell everything needed, from foodstuffs to Japanese color televisions and cars. Negotiations on this are now under way, and if everything works out, such a trade center will be constructed in under a year. A major overhaul of all the infrastructure—roads, communications, and housing construction—is in the city council's plans. The city treasury's increasing income from trade taxes over recent months creates a real opportunity for this.

In a word, despite all the existing problems, of which there are more than a few, the advantage of opening the border is tangible on all sides. People traveling to a neighboring country not to admire tourist attractions, but primarily to buy goods, can hardly be reproached. Apparently, such a situation is inevitable under the conditions of the current deficit.

As far as the Hungarian tourists are concerned, for the time being in the Transcarpathians, they are purchasing primarily construction materials and gasoline, which are much cheaper there. Recently, however, judging by the comments of Hungarians who have visited the USSR,

the opportunity to purchase these goods has been significantly reduced by the deficit. It is possible that this condition influences the fact that under the simplified crossing system, only one Hungarian crosses the border for every nine Soviet citizens. That is why, as a rule, the bridge across the Tisza river, the middle of which marks the boundary between our two countries, is jammed with cars only in one direction—from Chop to Zahony.

However, all this does not mean that the opportunities for development of border relations, including trade, have been exhausted. In my conversation with the mayor, the issue of creating major railroad stations in the territory between Chop and Zahony for trade between East and West, the so-called free enterprise zone, frequently arises (the major portion of freight from the USSR to Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, and naturally, Hungary, travels through these cities). According to K. Borbey, in the event that such a zone is created within a short period of time, it would be possible to attract to it a significant amount of foreign capital. Concrete proposals already exist. One West German firm is proposing to "Avtoeksport" the creation in Zahony of a base for purchasing cars for Hungary in the USSR for hard currency; the same is now done in forints. There is also a proposal to create a wood processing combine here. Instead of shipping logs at fairly low prices, it would be possible to process timber here and sell it at higher prices.

The development of modern production in the two countries' border territories could undoubtedly solve many of the problems which border trade and tourism now face. In particular, that of the lack of hard currency for exchange purposes. Then, suddenly people would be crossing the border not for produce and manufactured goods, but to actually see the neighboring country's tourist attractions.

Export Licenses Introduced for Some Commodities

PM2709162989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Export licenses are being introduced for the period 1 October 1989 to 31 December 1990 for services connected with the construction and operation of projects abroad. By decision of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, licenses are also required for equipment, materials, and components supplied to these construction projects.

Export licenses are also being introduced for ship propellant, petroleum coke, and liquefied petroleum gases. Licenses for all these goods are issued by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

During this period the same procedure also applies to exports of aromatic oils and synthetic aromatic substances, for which licenses are issued by the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petrochemical Industry; and exports of medals and coins made from nonprecious metals and other monetary denominations of prerevolutionary, Soviet, or foreign origin, for which export licenses are issued by the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity.

Agricultural

Nikitin Cites New Commission, Agricultural Update

LD2709143389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1846 GMT 26 Sep 89

[From the "Topical Interview" program; video interview with Vladilen Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Commission for Food and Purchases, by political observer Anatoliy Ivashchenko]

[Text] Good evening, comrades. The unwieldy All-Union State Agro-Industrial Committee in which we vested so many hopes has, as we have already reported, ceased to exist. Well, as they say, the king is dead, long live the—who is it we are greeting? This enormous management structure has now been replaced by another one, more flexible and smaller—the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for Food and Purchases. It is headed by Vladilen Valentinovich Nikitin. Vladilen Valentinovich, tell us, you now have a commission, but the Council of Ministers used to have other commissions or bureaus before; they were in charge of specific sets of ministries. Well, no one has any intention now of resurrecting either the Minselkhoz [as heard] or the Ministry of Procurement or the [word indistinct] ministry—well, how does your present commission as a management structure differ from the former USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee?

[Nikitin] Well, Anatoliy Zakhariyevich, your question deserves a seperate, special lecture. With your permission, I will concentrate on the essence of the question. In all probability the disappointment arose because there was no improvement in the provision of food for the population. If this is the case then I think that this issue depends neither on the structure, nor upon its numerical strength. This issue depends directly on the extent of the peasant's involved and professional work on the soil. Well, creating the right conditions for him will represent our commission's chief task. I think that we should create equal conditions for all forms of organization of work with the soil, beginning with peasant family farms and ending with major combines. Both material, technical and other provisions ought to be put on an equal footing. We must arrive at a systemic, constant approach so as to enhance our cadres' professionalism. These are, naturally, major problems. Questions about the extent to which the social infrastructure is suitable [komfortnost] in the countryside will be tackled. This is, perhaps, the main direction and the sooner these issues are resolved the better.

[Ivashchenko] At present, just as was the case within the former ministries, you have the main committees, or else main directorates and other structural subdivisions, but all this is considerably more close-knit now, isn't it?

[Nikitin] You know, the commission currently has 120 people; 900 people are working in allied organizations, mainly within the state control service. There were 3,500 people before. However, I reiterate, the question does not concern the people, nor does it concern the structure. We shall attempt to have these same questions resolved by means of a qualitatively new structure and by means of qualitatively new methods.

[Ivashchenko] The situation is so acute that you will surely make some new proposals during the current session. Tell us, how are we to proceed faster?

[Nikitin] The 1990 draft plan noticeably gives priority to the agro-industrial complex. Not a single sector was in receipt of such capital investments or material and technical resources as was allocated in the 5-year plan. However, the agro-industrial complex did receive these. This does not mean that the problem has been removed. Dividends will be reaped thanks to the way the government is dealing with this question. It is impossible at present to halt—as is sometimes suggested—the development of both the production of the means of production and of the social infrastructure for all the people; the peasants will also lose out on this. That is why steps like the draft plan for this year and the attention given therein to the peasantry somehow inspire one with confidence that things will generally get going. This, then, is what I wanted to tell you.

In the second place, you know, it is necessary that everyone, the whole nation, the entire population should somehow make the peasant feel that his labor is needed, that he is doing a great deed, that he is safeguarding the might of the state. Understanding this, the peasant will work in a different way.

[Ivashchenko] Now for a question about our purchases. A paradoxical situation on the market, the world market, is taking shape at present. Well, let us say that for a kilogram of Danish butter we pay—if my memory serves me right—49.5 foreign currency kopecks [invalyutnaya kopeyka]. A kilogram of French meat costs us less than a Ruble, naturally in terms of foreign currency calculation, but this bears witness to the fact that the level of production there is very high. How are we to go about integrating business at this new stage, acquiring equipment and machinery and experience and sending people? I now often read that our people are going on these trips—and not just those in charge of departments, but also machine operators, agronomists and livestock specialists—they go to study. However, Shouldn't we rather just take the experience accumulated in the world and put it to use at home?

[Nikitin] We need to know more about Western farms, their technical progress, and the technological processes which have already been created. I think that the best possible solution given this situation, is for joint enterprises based on joint capital to operate in cooperation with foreign partners. There are examples of this. They produce good results. The whole world develops like this, attracting the capital of other countries. I think that this will mean an acceleration of events in the desired direction.

[Ivashchenko] However, let us say, shouldn't we try out more models; I mean in the Moskovskiy Rayon of Tula Oblast one rayon scale model is, as you know, being tried out; or, let's say at Kuban—there is an agricultural firm there which practically represents the whole rayon and this is the second variant; the firm in Ramenskoye is the third option. Maybe we should try out still more variants, having had a look at the experience of, let us say, Holland. May be we should take a whole rayon, perhaps in Moscow Oblast, or elsewhere, and try a system like that in it, the cooperative system, as in Holland, in a whole rayon?

[Nikitin] The independence of the primary producer ought to be at the basis of all the variants, Anatoliy Zakharye ich. The peasant himself should know what to produce and no one should stand in his way. The peasant himself should, likewise, determine the ways of marketing this produce.

The integration of all the stages of the produce's movement from the production stage to the consumer is the question we should be examining. It is very important that the peasant should be integrated with the transport, processing, machine-building, and storage—all these stages ought to depend on the results of the peasant's work.

[Ivashchenko] Vladilen Ivanovich, in conclusion a bit about yourself. How old are you? How long have you been working in Moscow? Where did you start? What studies did you complete?

[Nikitin] This is hardly important as far as food is concerned, but, I am 53 years old; I have been working in Moscow for 4 years. I used to work in Siberia and all the time in agriculture.

[Ivashchenko] You were working at a state farm, in a rayon committee, a rayon executive committee.

[Nikitin] I did.

[Ivashchenko] Then as agriculture minister, in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, subsequently in the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee.

[Nikitin] Well, you know....

[Ivashchenko] Well, such are the rungs in the ladder. I ask about this because the task of selecting candidates for this post was an excruciating one for the Supreme Soviet Commission, the Agrarian Committee. Severe criticism will start 6 months later....

[Nikitin interrupting] yes, it did start a few days later.

[Ivashchenko] Ah, it has already started! So let me wish you success, a good successes in your difficult capacity, Vladilen Ivanovich.

[Nikitin] Thank you, Anatoliy Zakharyevich.

Scientific

More Satellite Launchings Announced

'Intercosmos-24' Launched 28 Sep

LD2809051789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] 'Intercosmos-24' was launched today at the Plesetsk Cosmodrome at 0305 [0005 GMT]. This satellite is intended to study the interaction of the Earth's magnetosphere with solar plasma. In the course of the flight, the subsidiary satellite, that is, the apparatus of its own rocket launcher, separated from the main satellite. The new experiment will make it possible to obtain interesting data on the origin of the Northern Lights and the passing of radio waves, precisely thanks to the main satellite and the subsidiary satellite.

Colleagues from Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, GDR, Finland, the United States, and other countries are participating in the mission together with Soviet scientists.

Molniya, Cosmos Satellites Launched 27 Sep

LD2809083889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0756 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (TASS)—Another 'Molniya-1' communications satellite was launched in the USSR on 27 September. The satellite is to safeguard the operation of the long distance telephone and telegraph communications system, and to relay the USSR Central Television programs to the Orbita network stations.

The satellite has been launched by a carrier rocket Molniya [as received] onto a high elliptical orbit with an apogee of 38,960 km in the northern hemisphere and a perigee of 650 km in the southern hemisphere. The period of the satellite's revolution is 11 hours and 42 minutes, and the inclination of the orbit is 62.8 degrees.

The communications sessions via the 'Molniya-1' satellite will be carried out in accordance with a program that has been drawn up.

Another artificial earth satellite, 'Cosmos-2046,' was launched in the USSR on the same day. Scientific equipment to continue space research is installed on board the satellite. The satellite has been put into an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution: 92.8 minutes; maximum distance from the earth's surface (apogee): 431 km; minimal distance from the earth's surface (perigee): 412 km; inclination of orbit: 65 degrees. Apart from the scientific equipment, the satellite has a radio system for precise measurements of elements of the orbit and a radio telemetry system to convey data to earth on how the instruments and scientific equipment are working. The equipment on board the satellite is operating normally. The cooperation and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Program Highlights Satellite Communications

LD2709214389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Report by Sergey Slipchenko at the Plicetsk Cosmodrome—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A few lines of a TASS report on the latest launch of a satellite—how often one comes across them in central newspapers. From the northern Plicetsk Cosmodrome alone more than 2000 satellites of the Cosmos series have been launched, and today it is the "Molniya"—a communications satellite. [video shows the rocket carrying the satellite before launch in its gantry]

What is all this about, after all? [video shows Slipchenko standing at base of rocket] According to the forecasts of specialists, by the year 2000, 7 of every 10 communications made on earth, will be broadcast via space, via space communications satellites. And if we talk about our country, about what communication and space are giving us, I can say that satellites "Molniya," "Ekran," "Raduga," "Gorizont," and the "Moskva" and "Orbita" earth stations supply 93 percent of our country's population with television. One more fact: According to the forecasts of specialists, over distances of more than 200 kilometers, satellite communications is much more advantageous and economically expedient than communication via radio relay lines or cable lines. [passage omitteed: report over video of foreign correspondents visiting the launch area, which was formerly a military area where missiles were at the ready. Ivan Ivanovich Oleynik and Boris Nikolayevich Morozov, who are in charge of the cosmodrome, explained the organization of the launch to correspondents. Video shows launch and officials]

Now as you are watching the "Vremya" program, the satellite "Molniya" is in intermediate orbit. After it goes into its main, working orbit, communications in the country will perhaps improve. [passage omitted: interview with Oleynik, who says that the launch of the "Molniya" satellite will allow the most remote parts of the motherland to watch what is happening in Moscow and that this Plicetsk Cosmodrome was a military facility and is now a large scientific center for the study of space.

'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Experiments

LD2609133689 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—The third week of the orbital flight by Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov is drawing to an end.

Along with measures on preventive maintenance of the Mir complex, the crew continues planned explorations.

Another experiment has been carried out under the programme for space materials studies on the Gallar unit. Its aim was to produce the semiconductor material cadmium-selenium in conditions of microgravitation.

Using the Zora equipment developed by Bulgarian designers, the crew carried out several medical investigations to assess man's psychophysiological reactions in space.

Today's schedule for the crew involves the assembly of several new instruments brought to the station by the ferry Progress M, medical investigations and physical exercises.

Work at the Mir complex proceeds according to a set programme. The cosmonauts are healthy and feel well.